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[G]att loses bid to reach deal on freer trade

[Del]egates to the Geneva meeting of [th]e General Agreement on Tariffs [and T]rade (Gatt) left the same way they [ca]me — empty handed.

[Del]egates from 88 countries had to [admit] that they could find no common [groun]d in the fight against protection[ism].

[The] conference was intended to deal [a blow] for free trade, to improve the in[vestme]nt climate and to boost confiden[ce in i]nternational economic opportuni[ties].

[But] no-one was prepared to make the [fir]st sacrifice and most made it [clear] there could be no question of tak[ing on] fresh commitments.

[Once] this had been made clear, poli[ticians] tried to get off the hook as in[conspic]uously as possible.

"[The] conference got off to a false [start, w]as poorly prepared and failed to [negotia]te the distance satisfactorily," [said a]n EEC spokesman.

[But] an EEC country was to blame for [the] prior demoralisation. The [Frenc]h Foreign Trade Minister, Michel [Jobert,] missed no opportunity to nit-[pick].

[He] levelled one criticism after an[other a]t the draft political declaration [that ha]d taken an entire year to compi[le, there]by upsetting everyone else.

[The] developing countries in particu[lar had] no intention of restarting nego[tiation]s from scratch.

[J]obert also left no doubt that he [felt the] proceedings were pointless. He [describe]d several of Gatt's basic princi[ples as] being behind the times.

[The] time seems ripe for trade war [and th]e Devil take the hindmost, with [the Un]ited States partly to blame for [the con]ference's failure.

[Congr]essmen in the US delegation [had] threatened to *stand up and fight* [if Ame]rica's trading partners refused to [take the]ir wishes into account.

[The] Americans were interested first [and fo]remost in boosting export sales of [farm p]roduce and advanced technolo-

Gatt battles against the lure of protectionism — page 5.

gy, and protective measures by Western Europe thoroughly annoyed them.

Their aggressive approach scored a few diplomatic points but failed to pay dividends in the long run. The US delegation returned home as empty-handed as the rest.

The winners, on the quiet, were the Japanese. They were worried they might be branded as mischief-makers of world trade because they export goods all over the world without allowing corresponding imports.

But in a general free-for-all the Japanese, who made a point of being as inconspicuous as possible, were completely forgotten.

The conference ended in a fight between the European Community and the rest of the world, providing a handful of politicians with an opportunity of satisfying their vanity and scoring points for domestic electoral consumption.

There was seen to be no international consensus on how the world economic crisis might be solved, and world trade is indeed a confusing puzzle.

There are no generally valid rules applicable to any specific sector. Each country has its own legitimate requirements in respect of protection yet also often defends shortsighted special interests. There is a world of difference between safeguarding farm earnings to prevent a population drift from rural areas to conurbations and artificially keeping a factory going that has grown uncompetitive by virtue of mismanagement. What *is needed is* a closely-meshed network of agreements, either bilateral or multilateral (via Gatt), to ensure a place in the sun for everyone. The United States sought, in an offensive typical of the Reagan administration, to extend Gatt regulations to new sectors. The Americans were particularly keen to negotiate cuts in export subsidies for farm produce (with the EEC in mind) and freer trade in the international service sector.

But in both instances their homework was badly done. The US delegation was unable to clearly outline what it meant by services.

Agreement was reached to commission reports on unresolved issues, but time alone will tell whether this was merely a ploy to enable the conference to achieve results, in form if not in content.

On a number of other issues differences were papered over, but none of the many countries who first clamoured for the conference to be held now claims to have been responsible for the idea.

Pierre Simonitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 November 1982)



Flying the EEC flag

President of the European Parliament Piet Dankert, of the Netherlands (left) greeted by the president of the Bonn Bundestag, Richard Stücklen. Mr Dankert was making an official visit to the Federal Republic. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Miracles neither expected nor given in Madrid

Agreement on a final document for the second Helsinki review conference is getting tougher to reach.

Both sides in Madrid are continuing to communicate and are keen to keep it that way. But that is much too little.

It is 10 years since 197 diplomats from 32 European countries plus the United States and Canada began preparations for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Helsinki.

In the wake of war, hot and cold, the Europeans had begun to wonder how they could improve cooperation and security. The world situation and East-West ties have since changed so fundamentally that the original emphasis of the Helsinki agenda has also changed.

Mention is still made, in connection with the Helsinki accords, of the three baskets and the *10 principles, especially* human rights, trade and individual contacts.

But over the past two years an aspect has come to the fore that was originally only an appendix and a link with the MBFR talks in Vienna.

The Vienna talks are concerned with *mutual*, balanced force reductions in Central Europe. The issues that have come to the fore in the Helsinki context are confidence-building measures.

They include advance notice of manoeuvres and the exchange of manoeuvre observers. Western and neutral countries feel they must be made more specific and extended in scope.

They even feel this must be done before an all-European security conference is convened (a conference for which the Soviet Union and its satellites have been clamouring for years).

The arguments they advance are convincing, but East Bloc diplomats are not convinced.

What use, the West and the neutrals argue, are disarmament talks as long as *Russia is not even prepared to extend* confidence-building measures to cover European Russia as far as the Urals?

So the tenth anniversary of the CSCE is the anniversary of an institution that has not had much to show for itself.

It was clear soon after the Helsinki accords were signed on 1 August 1975 that nothing much could be expected to come of them.

The Soviet Union in particular had intended the conference to boost its power, not to reach agreement on human easements.

The Russians were among the first to realise how dangerous it was for statesmen to sign documents and make promises the general public could call on them to make good.

So they made sure at the first review conference, held from 4 October 1977 to 9 March 1978 in Belgrade, that the Belgrade final document no longer contained any reference to human rights.

The results of the expert gatherings held between the first and second review conference were thus a foregone conclusion.

Six weeks of talks on peaceful settlement of disputes, held in Montreux at the end of 1978, ended in a final declaration lacking in substance.

The countries represented took good care to avoid committing themselves to consulting a neutral authority in the event of strife, let alone to peacefully settling disputes.

The six weeks of talks on improving cooperation in the Mediterranean held in Valletta, Malta, early in 1979 were boycotted by six Arab states because delegations representing Egypt and Israel took part.

A two-week scientific forum held early in 1980 in Hamburg produced proposals for intensifying scientific cooperation, but nothing has really come of

Continued on page 15



WORLD AFFAIRS

Rogers' plan to get an airing at Nato talks

There will be two major issues at Nato's winter conference in Brussels. One is what has become known as the Rogers Plan; the other is the amount of help the Atlantic Alliance would be prepared to give America outside the provisions of Nato.

Nato's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Rogers, proposes raising the nuclear threshold and reducing dependence on tactical nuclear weapons by building up conventional forces.

The Americans are giving considerable thought to the first topic, with the Gulf in mind. But the Rogers Plan is of greater importance both to America and to Nato.

The formula "Nato first" no longer applies in American policies. The strategic concept has become much more comprehensive. However, the Atlantic partnership still remains a central part of America's security policy.

General Rogers wants modern precision weapons to be introduced and electronic reconnaissance instruments to be used.

Nato should then give its OK to the necessary adjustment of operative military strategy. The main idea behind this move is to make the lower threshold of the deterrence strategy more credible by enabling modern defensive weapons to penetrate far into the territory of the potential enemy.

His military units are thus threatened even before they get across the Iron Curtain. Although atomic energy lies waiting in the background all this can be done by using non-nuclear weapons.

Some Atlantic governments regard this "forward-oriented" operative planning as a radical change in the Atlantic defence policy.

However, this is not true. After all, military instruments are only being exchanged or added.

If the Rogers Plan is not approved, the Alliance could well be facing a dangerous future.

The words which Henry Kissinger never tires of speaking would then come true: the West would soon find itself standing in front of the ruins of its defence policy.

There would neither be a balance of conventional forces, nor would we be able to pose a threat with a sufficient stockpile of destructive weapons.

"We will have then unarmed ourselves". For the Atlantic security depends on the interlocking of effective classic and nuclear systems.

However, the divisions which have been providing a protective shield for over three decades, the airforce squadrons, covering the operative units, the naval forces guaranteeing supplies, cannot deter the enemy from waging a war using conventional arms. They would not be able to win the battle.

The result would then be a speedy transition to nuclear warfare. Up to now this weakness was presented as a strong point.

The threat of nuclear chaos which would result for the enemy was seen to be a strategic trump-card.

But can it in fact take the trick? There are certainly doubts about this. The ensuing holocaust not only threatens the enemy but one's own forces too. Politicians have disregarded this home-truth for years.

The nuclear threat could only then be convincingly used as a deterrent as long as the Americans had a nuclear monopoly.

However, as soon as the Soviet Union got in on the act, things weren't quite as easy. The balance of nuclear power has shifted unfavourably for the Americans.

And yet the old strategy based on the West's technological supremacy still prevails. Washington is out to change all this, to get back to a true balance. For this purpose it has developed an expensive, long-term arms programme.

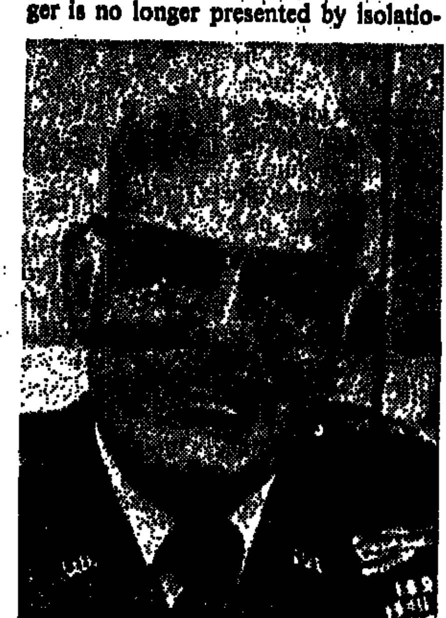
Such ambitions, however, do not only depend on financial backing.

In this era of unlimited possiblities of information a rebellion against any kind of nuclear strategy has broken out among Western peopoles.

Not only the Catholic priests in America, but also many protestants all over the world, intellectuals, environmentalists, sects and politicians in their election campaigning itake up "peaceful" arms against the nuclear threat.

Without understanding the interrelationships the complex system of deterrence is taken to the pillory.

Policies are based on fears. The danger is no longer presented by isolationism in America or neutralism in Europe. The new danger which threatens our security is called nuclear pacifism.



General Bernard Rogers ... proposes conventional forces build-up.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

The governments and parliaments must now pluck up their courage and do what is right. In Europe's case this means Pershing II and Cruise Missiles, the Rogers Plan plus modernisation. However, attempts must also be made to gain control over the growing unrest in nuclear affairs.

The message must be conveyed that the nuclear strategy is being misunderstood, that it is there to prevent destruction not engineer it.

For at the moment there is nuclear chaos in the minds of many. Too much emotion is threatening to brush aside what experience has taught us: that he who is the strongest decides on the outcome of war and peace is dictated by the victor.

Admittedly, the Nato conference will not bring about fundamental change. Military strength is required to be able to do that.

And it is precisely this strength which makes it possible to carry out a sure policy of arms control.

He who is prepared is in a position to negotiate.

Adelbert Weinstein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 November 1982)

Andropov gives a sneak preview of his style

The Americans didn't have to wait long to see their assumption about the new Soviet leader, Yuri Andropov corroborated: he is an intelligent operator.

In his first major speech he asked to be allowed into the "freeze" movement. At the same time he allowed a UN motion to be supported inviting both superpowers to freeze their nuclear arsenals.

For the latter move he cleverly based his wording on that used by the American freeze movement.

This guaranteed an overwhelming majority, and the US delegate was forced to vote against the wording which had found a majority in a referendum carried out in five American federal states.

Andropov thus doesn't lose face: even if such a freeze were to be agreed upon, which is most improbable, the Soviet lead in the field of land-based long-range missiles is guaranteed.

He can leave it up to Ronald Reagan to take on the appearance of the less peaceful of the two, drowning his own conciliatory words directed towards Moscow by consistent "missile-rattling". America's President is in a dilemma.

On the one hand, he doesn't want to leave the initiative up to the man in the Kremlin. In doing so, he would dash hopes right from the start that there is to be a new start in relations between the two superpowers.

On the other hand, he had to comply with a demand by Congress and work out a plan for stationing MX missiles.

His attempt to combine both by referring to the MX as a "peacekeeper" was not successful.

A sentence to be found in former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's book describes the situation only too well: "The rhetoric of war, which can suddenly change to that of concession, makes our opponents doubtful as to our firmness, and is seen to be tactics on our part".

Reagan just couldn't make his intention, firmness and flexibility at the same time seem credible.

The President, however, is still struggling against a second dilemma. Although America's land-based missiles are not "as ancient" as is claimed, they are out-of-date in comparison with Soviet land-based missiles.

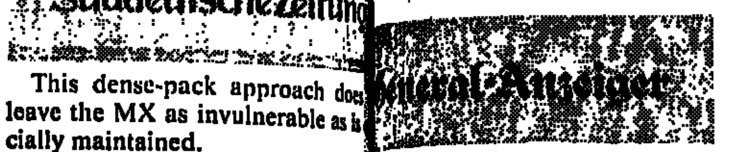
This leads to two main questions: In view of the numerical superiority of the USA in sea and air-based missiles would a modernisation of the Titan and Minutemen missiles and the associated bunkering be enough?

And if the answer to this question is no: Is the MX the right answer? As with Carter before him Reagan has gone for the MX.

However, it is difficult to believe him when he maintains that this system meets two demands: to encourage the negotiations on arms control and reduce the arms build-up, as well as to increase deterrence.

Until Congress approves of their stationing, it cannot be used as a means of exerting pressure on the Soviets during the Geneva talks.

Whether Congress will approve is more uncertain than ever — because of the enormous costs and the doubts about the dense-pack deployment.



This dense-pack approach does leave the MX as invulnerable as is cially maintained.

Reagan himself is considering a clear missile defence system for its tection. If the memorandum to the I Treaty, in which each side is allow two such systems, is stretched, then is acceptable.

Up to now, however, Washington Moscow have each set up only one tem, and the setting-up of such a sys to protct a large part of the missile would be a novelty.

The Russians would in such a c most probably have to follow suit.

Another aspect of the MX dep ment is even more disturbing: In eyes of American strategists it h "sponge function".

According to their calculations Soviets would have to fire all their la based SS-18 missiles on to the mis are a in Wyoming just to knock o part of the MX system. This would d nitely disturb the Russians.

They would try to develop new, ad tional warheads, which are not as v nerable to "fratricide". There wo then be no way of stopping the a build-up. Reagan's efforts to equate vulnerability with deterrence are to ly lacking in credibility.

If one side believes that it has a vulnerable, superior strategic weapon, then it would in theory be position to wage war.

The doubts about invulnerability a part of the risk and mutual deter ce.

Should the opponents of MX pin their hopes on a Congress re tion?

Such hopes cut two ways for Eu peans. If the Americans drop the plans, which theoretically being a p of regained superiority would make Pershing II superfluous, they will p even more for the stationing of P shings in Europe and for additional fence efforts by the Europeans.

The best thing therefore would speedy progress during the INF Start talks.

However, this would demand su tantial concessions on the part of Americans and Russians.

To hope for that would be pretty ve, despite the conciliatory words Moscow and Washington.

Dieter Schrö

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 November

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HOME AFFAIRS

Parties get ready for an icy election campaign

General-Anzeiger

political parties are preparing campaign for the general election scheduled for March, although it is certain if, constitutionally, poll be held at all.

will be Germany's first winter cam and it will be "brief and icy", ac to a CDU manager, Peter Ra-

rallies will have to be in heated facilities. Few people want to hours stamping their feet to keep

general secretary Heiner Geiss the party's campaign theme will of the Crisis with Us".

SPD wants to keep its campaign as open as possible in order to votes from as many quarters as

FDP is trying to repair its image using environmental protection the further development of a just

paign organisations of the major have been going under full ever since the last general election 1980. Because of the many state in the interim, there is no need th stoking.

CDU campaign planning at par dquarters in the Konrad Adenauer House, where Geissler is at the has made the most progress. er says: the centre government remain in power because otherwise nation would either become unstable or be governed by an SPD- alliance.

of the very first points of the programme concerns in issue that so far been considered unsuitable campaign: the CDU wants to con the voter that a stable middle-of- nd policy is the precondition for a s of the Geneva disarmament

ing his visit to Washington, cellor Helmut Kohl described the Nato decision as *the* foreign decision, adding that "it is up to ters to take a stand on this issue." has put the missile issue squarethe centre of the campaign, and highly emotional issue could supsuch major problems as unemment, cutbacks in social security and economic crisis.

is prepared to accept the fact the SPD could try to paint him as missile chancellor".

the whole missile issue within the itself is so controversial that the Democrats are likely to find it hard to gloss over the division their own camp by attacking opponents.

has meanwhile become obvious SPD chancellorship candidate Jochen Vogel would be much flexible on the deployment of intermediate range missiles if the Geneva break down than was Helmut Schmidt always made it clear the missiles would be stationed in any if the talks fail.

other major point in the CDU paign strategy is the constant stressing of the "legacy" inherited from the SPD-FDP coalition.

But CDU publications omit the fact that the FDP was for 13 years part of this coalition and hence jointly responsible for the "legacy".

The campaign is being ushered in by advertisements and a CDU paper called *CDU-extra* that carry a "closing balance of the SPD as a government party."

Helmut Kohl himself will be the pivotal point of the campaign and is already scheduled to speak at 22 major rallies.

The CDU campaign is officially to begin with the "small party congress" in Bonn on 6 December; the SPD will follow up its own "small party congress" in Kiel with another one in Dortmund on 21 January when its chancellorship candidate is to be officially nominated (this is a mere formality).

The FDP is due to meet in Freiburg on 19 January — the same city that saw the adoption of the famous "Freiburg Theses" from which the party is now miles removed, as critics within the FDP put it.

The CDU intends to spend DM29.8m on advertising. That would be 25 per cent less than in the last national campaign.

The SPD is also determined to be thrifty. It is still unknown, however, whether the parties will agree among each other keep down campaign costs.

The FDP is, of course, most interested in such a deal due to the likelihood that it will lose votes and that the reimbursement from federal funds for campaign expenses will be correspondingly low.

But prospects for an agreement are poor. The same applies to a new edition of the arbitration committee which is meant to ensure a "clean campaign". (In the last general election the committee was more a source of amusement than of campaign justice.)

The CDU is determined to fight for every vote and nothing has been said officially about its supporting the FDP.

If the FDP manages to return to the Bundestag, the CDU is prepared to continue the coalition.

According to Geissler, the remark by CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss about the possibility of a grand coalition if the FDP doesn't make it was a hypothetical answer to a hypothetical possibility.

The campaign preparations of the FDP are overshadowed by differing statements on coalition partners in the state organisations of the party, the fact that it is losing many members and the possible establishment of a new left-Liberal party.

The recent meeting of the FDP executive committee which, according to party spokesman Herbert Schmülling, was marked by a "fighting determination to make it," agreed to put the campaign emphasis on peace policy, the fight against unemployment with the instruments of market economy and environmental protection.

In its "Kiel Declaration", the SPD has already outlined its main points. It will leave the past 13 years alone — especially where economic policy is concerned — and for the rest charge the CDU with running class struggle by the haves against the have-nots.

The voter is likely to remain unimpressed — after all, the campaigning coincides with the carnival season.

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 23 November 1982)

MPs complain about lack of information

Handelsblatt

WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

The days of euphoria have gone and the Bonn government is running into the everyday problems that were bound to come in an organisation not practised at being in power.

The CDU parliamentary group is already complaining about the scarcity and incompleteness of information it receives from the Chancellery and the Government press office.

CDU members of parliament say they find it difficult sensibly to argue in favour of the new economic, fiscal and social policy — both in parliament and in the constituencies.

They deplore the lack of transparency and say that he new chancellor's reports on the state of the nation in Parliament are just not enough.

In particular, they point to the difficulties they have in explaining and backing the new DM40bn federal debt when only a few months ago they had to attack the old government for every added mark it wanted to borrow.

They stress that it is not enough to point to the "legacy" this government inherited from its predecessor. They must be put in a position to explain the exact need for every mark borrowed.

In addition, the term "legacy" has put a great strain on cabinet meetings. The Free Democrats hate being reminded of the fact that they are partly responsible for this legacy. They criticise CDU's frequent use of the term.

But their criticism is unlikely to lead anywhere and the term is likely to keep cropping up in the election campaign.

Though the CDU's Franz Josef Strauss is prepared to tolerate a penitent FDP, he and his fellow party members persist in reminding the Liberals of past sins.

But the CSU's incursions into Bonn government affairs are causing ever new problems, not only for the FDP but for the CDU as well.

Strauss, who intends to stand for a Bundestag seat in the March elections, recently informed his Bonn partners by letter of the legislation he is not prepared to endorse.

CSU wishes about who should hold what posts have also caused annoyance in Bonn.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Handelsblatt, 25 November 1982)

SPD prepares for hustings with a problem

The SPD is entering an election campaign with few leadership personalities: the outstanding figure is the party chairman, Willy Brandt.

The former Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, is now playing a secondary role. He is spending most of his time criticising the foreign and trade policies of his successor, Helmut Kohl.

Herbert Wehner, the leader of the party in the Bundestag, is now certain to retire. This means that Brandt is left with a leadership trio comprised of himself, Hans-Jochen Vogel and Johannes Rau.

Vogel, the party's candidate for the chancellorship, cannot even speak in the Bundestag because he is the leader of the opposition in Berlin.

Rau is the Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and is the only SPD state premier firmly entrenched in office. But at a national level, he can only speak in the Bundesrat.

This all means that the SPD parliamentary group in Bonn is without an undisputed leader.

The issues to be raised in the campaign can be gathered from the "Kiel Declaration" and the speeches surrounding it.

In foreign policy, the SPD wants to present itself as an advocate of peace and disarmament, avoiding any express confirmation of the double Nato decision. This will be helped because the party now no longer has to support Helmut Schmidt, the initiator of the decision.

Left wingers like Erhard Eppler and Egon Bahr are fishing for Green votes by hinting at their opposition to the development of intermediate range missiles.

In domestic affairs, the SPD stresses its determination to introduce reforms — especially in environmental protection and legal policy.

But here the party clashes with the FDP, which is also determined to build its image on these issues.

It remains to be seen how many FDP voters the Social Democrats will be able to capture for themselves.

In any event, towards the end of the congress Chairman Willy Brandt expressed himself in favour of providing safe mandates for Liberals who are prepared to switch party allegiance.

But by far the most important campaign issue will be the fight against unemployment. Here, the SPD will promote early retirement and job-creation programmes.

But naturally, it will also have to say how it wants to finance such programmes: the first would call for wage cutbacks and the second for billions from Bonn coffers.

In any event, this would be a clear alternative to the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition government, which puts its emphasis on cutbacks in public sector spending and the promotion of private investments.

Hans-Jochen Vogel was confident that his party will succeed in its bid to return to power. But his optimism was probably because he knows that no election can be won with pessimism.

Heinzgünther Klein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 21 November 1982)

...PLE

Minister's tough nuclear power decisions



Heinz Riesenhuber . . . a rapid rise. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Even SPD members of the Bundestag publicly admit that Heinz Riesenhuber, 46, the new Bonn research minister, is a good choice for the job.

Riesenhuber, a graduate chemist and father of four, is faced with one of the new government's most difficult decisions: the future of the financially ailing new reactor types, the fast breeder and the high temperature reactor.

He is expected to come up with a clear answer on whether the DM5bn that has already been spent for these reactors is to be written off or whether their development should proceed with financial support from the business community.

In his search for a technically and financially feasible solution, Riesenhuber will have to make the fullest possible use of his energy and his undeniable talent for detached analysis and clear decisions.

The Hesse politician, whose personal trademark is a neat bow tie, became a member of parliament in 1976 and was soon regarded as one of the Bundestag's rising stars.

His parliamentary work was largely concentrated on research, energy and environmental policy.

Before becoming Research Minister, he was the energy policy spokesman of the CDU parliamentary group in Bonn.

In order to stay in touch with practical work in this field Riesenhuber retained his post as one of the two technical managers of Synthomer Chemie GmbH (which is part of the Metallgesellschaft group).

Unless Riesenhuber succeeds in getting private financing for the two reactors and other major projects, he will be hard put to redraft his Ministry's research policy.

Riesenhuber, the successor of five SPD Research Ministers, wants to bring about a change of trend in research policy. The reorientation would involve a total change of strategy: instead of promoting more than 6,000 individual projects as was done under the SPD ministers, he wants a strategy aimed at stimulating new ideas and inventiveness.

He is well aware that this can only be achieved gradually and with great circumspection. He also knows that he cannot scrap projects from one day to the next. Like any other bureaucracy, the research bureaucracy also has its inertia.

The very first few weeks in his new office have made it clear to Riesenhuber that government bureaucracy and its hierarchy cannot be controlled as easily as the administration of a private business. But he is still confident that he will be able to do useful work in his new post.

Despite empty coffers, he can count on the support of Bonn's Finance Minister who is aware of the importance of research and development — especially in times of economic crisis.

Riesenhuber considers it wrong, however, to measure the success of research policy in terms of the billions that are spent on it, as has been done before.

What matters, he says, is the new methods and products that result from a government research policy.

Some of Riesenhuber's colleagues consider him too ambitious. But, as Kohl's youngest cabinet member puts it: "What's wrong with a bit of healthy ambition?"

Klaus Broichhausen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 November 1982)

Stuttgart mayor Rommel pu... back with huge majority

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Christian Democrat Manfred Rommel has been re-elected Mayor of Stuttgart with an overwhelming 69.8 per cent of the poll.

The term of office is eight years. He was first elected in 1974, when he polled 44 per cent on the first vote and 58 per cent on the second.

This time, his nearest challenger was the deputy leader of the SPD in the state assembly, Ulrich Maurer, who polled 25 per cent.

Among Rommel's most prominent traits are modesty and reluctance to foist his views on others. He is also convinced that realities are subject to their own rules and that neither dogmatism not emotionalism can influence them. The only way to cope with realities, as he sees it, is by using common sense.

But Rommel does not pin his hopes on his own common sense only; ... also convinced that most citizens ... more of this commodity than ma... their representatives.

The fact that one can not only go... a city but gain popularity as well ... such an attitude was demonstrate... the huge majority the voters gave hi...

Rommel's conviction that poli... actions must be long-term and la... non-partisan goes hand-in-hand ... his keen awareness of the fact th... planning needs a periodic review.

This attitude has on occasion ea... him the accusation of being undec... and too accommodating.

His scepticism towards himself ... his tolerance towards others, along ...

Manfred Rommel . . . a modest ma... (Photo: Sven Si...)

his knowledge of history, as shown ... his speeches, have turned him into ... unconventional politician: a man wh... rather than trying to implement gigan... and sensational plans, seeks to reco... cile differences and obtain the appro... of as many people as possible.

Rommel proudly points to the fa... that, despite the general financial cri... Stuttgart is in a better financial positi... than most major German cities becau... the modest behaviour of its elected ... presentatives and their courage to ra... city income in time.

Rommel is not what one might call ... political careerist. All he wants is to ... his job to the best of his ability.

In 1974, when he was first elected, ... was not particularly interested in ... coming mayor, would have preferred ... have become the personal adviser ... Baden-Württemberg's Prime Minis... Hans Filbinger and remain state secre... tary at the state Finance Ministry.

He is one of those mayors who en... going to citizens' rallies and talking ... the man-in-the-street.

Rommel despises any sort of per... nality cult as he despises the hard-... approach in election campaigns.

His attitude towards politics be... the stamp of his experience as a ... year-old when Hitler forced his fath... Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, to co... mit suicide.

His mastering of politics has alw... to some extent also been an attempt ... master his own past.

It is interesting to ponder wheth... Manfred Rommel would go to Bonn ... he were drafted.

Bert Häuser
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zei... für Deutschland, 9 November 19...)

FDP, looking for right formula, chooses chemist for key role

The Free Democrats' new general secretary, Dr Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer, 40, is a trained pharmacist. And she will be expected to come up with the right medicine to heal the party wounds.

She polled 200 of the 382 votes cast at the FDP national congress in Berlin in an election to decide on the successor to Günter Verheugen, who has left the party to join the Social Democrats.

Even old Bonn hands pricked up their ears in 1980 when the newly elected Bundestag member Schwaetzer made her maiden speech in parliament during the debate on Chancellor Schmidt's policy statement.

She so brilliantly countered the attacks on the SPD-FDP coalition by the CDU family affairs expert Helga Wex that Count Lambsdorff (FDP) spontaneously congratulated her, and MP Friedrich Hölscher handed her a yellow flower. Party Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher went over to her, saying he had to shake her hand.

Dr Schwaetzer joined the FDP in 1975 and two years ago became the chairman of the party's Aachen region. She was also elected to the executive board of the North Rhine-Westphalia FDP.

Her career so far shows that she is a woman with robust staying power who knows how to roll with the punches. The fact that she has had to stand her ground against four brothers — all older — might have something to do with it.

She has repeatedly demonstrated that, once convinced of her cause, she does not shirk a confrontation.

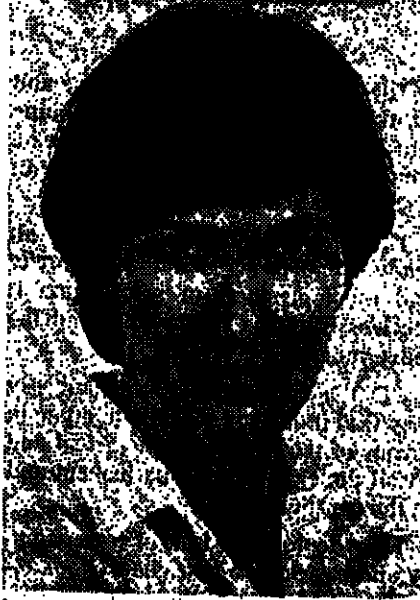
When the then labour minister, Herbert Ehrenberg, called for an extension of civilian service for conscientious objectors she launched a sharp attack on her SPD coalition partner.

And only recently she praised the present opposition Social Democratic Party for its tabling of an amendment of the law governing conscientious objectors.

Her fierce commitment on the conscientious objectors issue (she believes there should be no formal hearings) and her fight for equal rights for the children of single parents have earned her the reputation of being a left wing Liberal.

Yet she was a clear protagonist of the coalition switch on the grounds that it was impossible to implement a credible and successful policy that would put the economy back on its feet with the SPD.

When she assumed her seat in parliament, Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer said about herself: "I like to cook and I season everything with herbs I've grown myself."



Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer . . . not afraid of a confrontation. (Photo: Sven Simon)

For the Liberals, the proof of the pudding will be in the eating.

Stefan Heydeck
(Die Welt, 3 November 1982)

■ TRADE

Gatt battles against the lure of protectionism

...history underlying the emergence of the post-war world is a history of trade liberalisation rather than restriction. Here are some of the ...ones:

...1947 the General Agreement on ... and Trade (Gatt) was founded.

...was followed in the same year ... Marshall Plan with which America ...ped to put ravaged Europe back ... feet.

...May 1949, Western Europe and ...ca joined forces in the North Atlantic ...pact, which has been instrumental in ...our military security ever since.

...1950, the Schuman Plan provided ...basis for the Common Market ...became the European Community ...d thus provided the framework of ...political and economic security.

...European Community not only ...es a free market for all its mem...tions; it has also resulted in asso... agreements with many developing ...countries, facilitating the sale of ...goods on European markets and ...promoting self-help rather than de...

...order could now be placed in ...ty at the Gatt ministerial confe... in Geneva. The question is: will ...conference be able to check the ...g trade barriers that have been ...ing the free flow of goods in the ...w years?

...sweet drug of protectionism has ... an ever stronger lure. The in...ness of governments in under... their own voluntary commit... to free trade seems inexhaustible.

...iction to this drug is widespread ... and the Federal Republic of Ger... is one of the few with a relatively ...record.

Understandably so. Germany is second only to the United States as an exporting nation. But unlike in America and Japan (third on the list of exporting nations) more than one-quarter of the German GNP is accounted for by exports compared with 13 per cent for Japan and only 8 per cent for America.

One of the reasons why our record is cleaner than those of other nations is that violations do not pay off for us.

But when some countries subsidise their industries and when cheap products from abroad endanger our own business and jobs, no government in Bonn can remain inactive.

What makes protectionist measures so attractive is the fact that they are popular with the people at home and that they can always be justified by pointing to the fact that others are even worse culprits.

The Japanese trade practices of the past few years have thus become an alibi for many other nations. The drug is gradually becoming socially acceptable.

Yet it would be foolish in both economic and political terms to give in to temptation. The economic foolishness would lie in the fact that only an internationally agreed and limited protectionism could provide some breathing space for branches of industry that are suffering from structural crises.

Unilateral protectionist measures — even if temporary — tend to become institutionalised, thus perpetuating industrial obsolescence.

According to recent World Bank figures, every subsidised job in Swedish shipyards providing the worker with an annual salary of $20,000 costs the Swedish taxpayer $50,000 a year. This makes protectionism crisis management in reverse gear.

But the political foolishness is even worse than the economic one. The international system that has provided the Federal Republic of Germany along with other nations with internal stability and external influence would hardly be able to survive unchecked protectionism.

That much at least should be remembered from the lessons provided by the 1930s.

Then it was the "every man for himself" policy of the most important industrial nations, concerned only with their own advantages at the expense of others, that turned the international economic crisis into a political crisis that culminated in the Second World War.

Things are no different today. The present international order is also unable to withstand the strain of a beggar-my-neighbour policy.

Free trade according to pre-arranged rules is an essential part of all political structures that make up today's order. This applies in equal measure to the European Community, the Atlantic Alliance and relations with the Third World.

The Federal Republic of Germany's willingness to pay out vast amounts of money to support the agriculture of other member nations — especially France — largely depended on European Community markets for industrial products being kept open to German goods.

The latest import obstacles imposed by the French government apply primarily to Japanese goods; but they naturally also hit all other countries. They are dangerous.

Any deterioration of the Common Market would also spell the end of political cooperation.

The trade dispute has strained the political relations between the security partners of the Atlantic Alliance.

American trade unions and presidential candidates are becoming increasingly loud in calling for state protection against many imports.

To make matters worse, these debilitating trade disputes now coincide with a political crisis within the Atlantic Alliance. Trade egotism could easily widen the political rift. The Alliance is no longer robust enough to emerge unscathed from an unchecked protectionist build-up among its member nations.

The developing countries are now up to their necks in debt to the industrial world, totalling an estimated DM1,250bn.

Without markets in the developed countries, they will be unable to service their debts — let alone pay them off one day.

As a result of their financial troubles, they will be unable to pay for the imports of our products. Eventually, the vulnerable stability of many young states would be undermined if their economic prospects became even bleaker.

Revolution and political unpredictability would ensue — caused not by Soviet machinations but by Western shortsightedness.

The economic damage caused by unchecked protectionism would be great, but it might still be tolerable. Not so the political damage.

Anybody who gives in to the temptation of protectionism should be aware of the political consequences. But are the ministers meeting in Geneva now aware of them?

They will not be able to fully shrug off the pressure from their own public. The conference could therefore chalk it up as a success if it managed to impose time limits on trade restrictions and subject them to common controls.

Any failure would mean that protectionism would no longer be engaged in covertly and with a bad conscience but that it would be practised openly.

France's Foreign Trade Minister Jobert, father of the latest import obstacles, is said to have another 50 ready to pull out of a drawer.

The international system can be destroyed not only by military wars but also by trade wars. One thing is certain: the present crisis cannot be mastered with protectionist measures. All this would do would be to destroy the very pillars that support the house in which we all live.

Christoph Bertram
(Die Zeit, 26 November 1982)

The agreement

One: The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) that came into force on 1 January 1948 provides the economic, legal and institutional framework for international trade.

Its main pillar is a balanced system of mutual tariff concessions by the 88 signatories of the agreement. The agreed upon tariff rates are based on the principle of most favoured nation that applies to all members. Tariff reductions have progressed satisfactorily since the agreement was signed.

Two: The agreement also contains provisions prohibiting non-tariff trade barriers and quotas. The reduction of these barriers has proved difficult.

Three: To protect them against damaging imports, the agreement authorises importing countries to temporarily suspend or rescind liberalisation measures.

In cases where excessive imports of a particular product could cause serious damage to domestic industry, the member nations are authorised to impose tariffs or non-tariff barriers for such imports. But these clauses have not often been used.

Four: The agreement authorises importing countries to adopt compensating measures against those trading partners who resort to dumping or subsidise their exports.

In the first case, they may introduce anti-dumping tariffs and, in the second, countervailing duties. But these measures must not provide additional protection for the affected industries in the importing country.

Five: In practice, hidden trade restrictions of various kinds have made it possible to circumvent the agreement.

This has led to demands that the loopholes be closed to prevent a further spreading of such import barriers.

(Die Zeit, 26 November 1982)



BUSINESS

AEG-Telefunken survival chances improve sharply



The survival chances of AEG-Telefunken have improved vastly. The chance of a new beginning is within grasp.

The picture contrasts with that of May this year when the company went to court in a bid to rescue itself. The *Vergleichsverfahren* (a sort of receivership) proceedings were the final step in the most extensive private sector commercial rescue attempts in the history of the Federal Republic.

Over the past couple of years, the company has cost the banks some DM2bn and some 30,000 workers their jobs.

The much maligned banks jumped into the breach as far back as the late summer of 1975 when they made their first rescue bid by footing the bill for a DM316m capital increase. The next rescue action took place at the turn of 1979/80 with a further capital increase that gave AEG an extra DM930m.

The banks bought the new shares, thus acquiring more than a 50 per cent stake in the company.

But since the market price of AEG stock declined, the banks had to write off considerable amounts year after year. Moreover, they granted AEG special interest rates for two years that provided the company with a relief of DM80m.

Finally, in 1981, the banks waived claims with DM240m.

The recovery blueprint for 1983 that AEG chief executive Heinz Dürr presented in May 1982 was to have put the organisation back on its feet.

The plan provided for a division of AEG-Telefunken as of 1 January 1983 into AEG Technik AG (with annual sales of DM11.2bn and a domestic payroll of 80,500) and AEG Konsum AG (payroll 19,500; sales DM 3.3bn).The majority stock was to have been held by an AEG-Telefunken holding company.

But the rescue plan foundered on realities. The concept was not welcomed by everybody Bonn and the state governments made it quite clear that — contrary to AEG hopes — they would not directly participate in the company.

To make matters worse, some of the banks were not prepared to support the plan with additional financial shots in the arm while others engaged in protracted haggling over a redistribution of quotas.

When negotiations with possible industrial partners also broke down, the promised liquidity aid by the banks failed to materialise and Bonn refused to provide a DM600m export guarantee, AEG found itself on the edge of an abyss. It has to pull the emergency brake in the form of the *Vergleichsverfahren* application.

What was needed now was radical surgery. The tumour of over-indebtedness had to be cut away and the boil of loss-generating subsidiaries lanced.

Since rehabilitation blueprints could no longer be realised, the home appliances sector represented by AEG-Telefunken Hausgeräte AG, Nuremberg, had to concentrate entirely on the AEG brand name. Sales of the brands Neff and Zanker were discontinued.

The payroll in this sector will be pruned even more heavily than originally intended. Without the subsidiaries Neff, Zanker and Küppersbusch (all of which are involved in bankruptcy or composition proceedings) the Hausgeräte AG now still has a domestic payroll of 10,000.

Having reduced the payroll by 2,400 this year, another 2,460 jobs are to be done away with by 1984.

The foreign operations, with a current payroll of 2,000, are also to reduce their staff.

Once the rehabilitation has been completed in 1984, the Hausgeräte AG is expected to account for global annual sales of DM1.7bn.

Like with AEG's Telefunken Fernseh und Rundfunk GmbH, Hanover (so far unaffected by the composition) in which Grundig originally wanted to buy a stake, Hausgeräte AG would welcome a partner.

Negotiations to that effect with the Swedish Elektrolux concern have been shelved, but the two companies cooperate by exchanging products and components. Talks are to be resumed as the rehabilitation efforts progress.

Olympia Werke AG, Wilhelmshaven, is to remain under the AEG roof for the time being. AEG-Telefunken's in Olympia amounts to 51 per cent while Bosch, Dresdner Bank, Deutsche Bank and Westdeutsche Landesbank hold the remaining 49 per cent through subsidiaries or holding companies.

Originally, AEG had considered looking for a majority stockholder in Olympia as part of the proceedings; but this idea has been dropped.

For one thing, there was nobody with enough money for the deal and, for another, the Frankfurt head office considers Olympia's prospects as being better now than they were a couple of months ago.

Statements to the effect that Olympia could at least break even in 1983 have been revised downward.

Even so, the AEG board is convinced that Olympia will manage to hold its own on the market.

Right now, Olympia is operating independently (though under the AEG umbrella) and hopes to get into the black again.

It is quite conceivable that Olympia will be combined with AEG's communications sector and that, together with a partner (possibly Bosch), a new communications group would be formed.

But all this is still speculation. It could just as well work out differently.

If the communications sector gets divided up and sold for ready cash, the new concept could not be realised and the question as to Olympia's fate would become topical again.

One of the pearls of AEG is to get a new owner at the end of the year: AEG-Telefunken Nachrichtentechnik GmbH (ATN) is to be taken over complet the present minority stockholder lianz, Bosch and Mannesmann.

The trio had acquired a 49 per equity in December 1981, while retained 51 per cent.

The original deal gave the three partners to buy another two per stake and thus acquire the majority a later deal stipulated that if AEG into bankruptcy or *Vergleichsverf* proceedings the partners could ac the remaining stock.

They made use of this right when *Vergleichsverfahren* proceedings oponed — despite the fact that had always stressed that he wante keep a finger in this interesting pie.

But cash will sweeten the Though nothing has been said about price for the 51 per cent of AT DM150m capital, it is estimated to around DM250m.

AEG will keep a foot in telecom nications technology through Tele ma GmbH, in which it has a ten cent stake. Telenorma nor holds 41 cent of Telefonbau und Normal (TN), Frankfurt. This is to be upped 51 per cent on 1 January 1982.

Most of what has been said here concerned loss operations. But the of the new AEG will concern techn sectors in which this company has be one of the leaders.

These sectors will have global sale DM8bn and a payroll of about 60, once they have been reorganised.

The plant and equipment sector ne achieved sales of DM5.9bn in (with a payroll of 47,000). This y sales are expected to be *in the reg* DM6.1bn.

Peter Ro

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 Novembe

Max Grundig of Grundig pulls out the plug

Grundig, the electronics company, has been taken over by the French Thomson-Brandt, which has bought 75.5 per cent.

Max Grundig himself has sold his entire interest: so he has thrown in the towel after fighting like a lion against overwhelming Japanese competition until the last moment.

Towards the end he developed survival strategies for European makers of home electronics and laid it on the line to the Japanese competitors, saying that German jobs were every but as important as Japanese ones.

Together with Philips, he was about to take Japan's video recorder makers to court for their dumping practices. At the same time, Grundig reduced his own video recorder prices in a last ditch bid to stay in the market.

Only a short while later, on 19 November, Grundig and the state-owned French electronics concern Thomson-Brandt announced that the French company had bought a majority stake.

Since the remaining Grundig stock is already held by Philips, Max Grundig now has no stake in the company. He had tried for years to find a suitable successor for the top post and is now opting out altogether.

The question is: what made Grundig suddenly give up? Did he capitulate in the face of the Japanese onslaught.

Certainly not. It would be contrary to his whole personality and fighting spirit to give up that easily.

Some years ago, he tried to find a majority partner for his company and Philips seemed the obvious choice.

Max Grundig ... sudden change of mind.
(Photo: Interpress)

The fact that Philips bought only a limited stake in the company was due to the veto by the German cartel office.

Having been unable to find a worthy successor, Grundig considered it best to put the management of his life's work into the hands of a major concern. He must be given credit for having p viously taken responsibility for Telef ken.

Grundig's ideal partner was o more Philips. He tried to negotiat Philips majority equity as part of Euro-strategy (various makes, c products, common marketing and pair service and common research development).

But Philips turned down the purch of a majority stake in Grundig for r sons unknown. It is also unknown w ther the Euro-strategy will now adopted under the Thomson-Bra management.

The fact that Grundig has put company into the hands of Thoms Brandt, a nationalised company, co be partly due to the fact that the Ja nese have stepped up their attack on European home electronics market especially in the video recorder se on which Europe has pinned its hop

Here, the Japanese reduced their p ces to below the DM1,000 thresh creating losses for European makers.

The Japanese attacks have had an verse effect on Grundig's balance sh But despite heavy losses in the past years, Grundig remains a very attrac company that has come up with a p of more than DM100m this year.

It is, however, unlikely that Gru would have won the fight against Japanese, who were stepping up th attacks on the market. As a result, it better to find a strong partner in and have him — hopefully — lead company into a sound future.

Peter Schlöss

(Handelsblatt, 22 November 1

BUSINESS

Turbulent weather for aerospace firm

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

...orts of rumours about imminent ...yoffs surround Germany's aero... firm, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-... (MBB). And no one is doing ...ing to clear the air.

...mbers of the works council have ... causing public controversy by ... statements about impending re...ncies.

...agement has refused to say ...ing to contradict the statements. ...oints at the poor leadership of the ...executive, Gero Madelung.

...has qualities as an aviation expert ... is not tough enough to beat ...opposition and nip speculation in ...d.

...the chairman of the supervisory ... Bavaria's Finance Minister Max ..., is also finding it difficult to ...up with a convincing policy line ...the conflicting interests of the 12 ...y and indirectly involved major ...holders.

...problems are further aggravated ...ck of work due to declining defen... ...ers and the poor prospects in the ...term for the European Airbus. ...addition, there is the problem of ...aid of excess staff resulting from ...erger with VFW.

...way things stand at the moment, ...MBB payroll of 38,000 is to be ...down by 3,500 by the end of next ...ther 2,400 layoffs would become ...able if the position of the order ...does not improve. About two-... of these layoffs would be in the ...(Hamburg and Bremen) and the ...the south.

...figure of 5,700 impending layoffs ... council member in Bremen re... spoke of is "an irresponsible ...lation" or a deliberate item of ...ical horror news intended to dis... the social peace," insiders say.

...ally wrong is the contention by ...hief executive of the Airbus indus... in Toulouse, France, Bernard ...ière, who claims that the announ... MBB layoffs have nothing to do ...the Airbus business but are only ...rationalisation successes and im... productivity.

...ated, there has been much pro... regarding rationalisation — espe... in Hamburg — which was vital ...to the heavy losses MBB suffered ...connection with the Airbus project ...0m in 1981) — largely due to Lathière's cons... stated euphoria — it was expec...ly a few months ago that the Air... production would rise continuous... to eight units a month.

...ever, only 19 units more than in ...have been sold so far this year due ... slump on the civil aviation mar... As a result, Deutsche Airbus ...H and its MBB parent consider it ...tial to reduce the output, with all ...negative consequences this entails ...employment — particularly in the ...

...ead of the originally planned 77 ...es (7 a month over a period of 11 months), next year's output will be reduced to 55 (5 a month). This is not much more than the present 4.8 units a month. But the financing of an aircraft stockpile would simply be too costly. The French partners, the state-owned Aero - Spatiale *(Snias)*, which has a 10.7 per cent equity in MBB, insists, however, that the output should not be cut down beyond 66 units.

Having already delivered 200 units, the Airbus industry still has orders for 150 A300s and A310s plus options for a similar number.

But the bankruptcy of Britain's Laker and the impossibility of supplying Libya (due to the US embargo on engines) show that there are incalculable risks in this business.

Moreover, options are no longer converted into firm orders at the old rate.

There is also a possibility that potential Airbus customers will opt for the competition. (Alitalia, for instance, has decided to buy 30 DC-9-80s).

Lathière has now to concede that, despite successes in the battle against Boeing, there are two tough years ahead for the Airbus industry.

MBB now wants to try to have the freeze of military orders that was imposed in May 1981 rescinded.

At that time, orders for the Tornado multipurpose fighter plane were postponed and those for the Roland and Milan missiles cut down.

Eighty Bo 105 helicopters were also blocked at the time.

If it now becomes possible to make Bonn rescind those decisions, MBB would be in a position to increase its next year's payroll by 1,000 to 1,500 people.

Though new orders for the missile plant Nabern/Teck would provide little relief for Bremen, two major orders for the Augsburg and Donauwörth plants could well do exactly that. If these plants occupy themselves more with the Tornado, much of the Airbus production could go to the north.

Paul Werner

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 November 1982)

A happier note for MBB ... an Airbus A300 gets a musical welcome as it comes off the line.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Hapag-Lloyd ready to wield the axe to cut huge losses

Hapag-Lloyd, Germany's leading sea, air and road transporter, is preparing on a slimming plan to try and cut losses. Some reports put this year's loss as high as DM100m.

The supervisory board is meeting in Munich to work out exactly where the knife will fall.

Reports so far indicate that the oil-tanker side of the operation will be axed and that two other two victims will be the airline operation and Pracht, the freight forwarding company.

It seems likely that neither will be sold, as had been feared, but that cut backs will be made.

Hapag-Lloyd employs 11,500, of whom 1,000 work in Hanover. Main shareholders are two banks, Deutsche und Dresdner.

Pracht was bought in 1979, but it turned out to be a mistake. It has made only losses. The airline side of the business was begun 10 years ago.

The airline manager, Friedrich Blume, says the company has plans which should enable it to come out of the red in two or three years.

The plan, involving dropping air freight entirely, selling four aircraft — reducing the fleet to 11 aircraft — and cutting the payroll by 20 per cent, has already been agreed. The question is whether it will go through.

It is hoped that this will be enough to combat falling demand, falling prices, over capacity and tough competition.

If it does go through, the company would be left with six thrifty Boeing 737-200s which have only recently been bought, and five Airbus A300s.

The planes for sale would include one Airbus and one old Boeing 727-200. They would offset losses and might even result in a bit of a surplus.

But the question is: will they be sold? There are 500 passenger aircraft on the second hand market at this level.

The planes to be are sold were bought second-hand when the company began 10 years ago. Then, the time seemed right to expand the air business.

Condor, a Lufthansa subsidiary, was Germany's only large charter company — apart from LTU which operated only from Düsseldorf — and needed competition.

Since then LTU has expanded operations south to Munich and Hapag-Lloyd and Condor are involved in a price war which has brought down charter prices.

Hapag-Lloyd would be able to handle the battle better if it had not saddled itself with obstacles of its own making.

It acquired two smaller charter companies, Bavaria and Germanair, as the oil crisis was making itself felt. The old aircraft that came with the companies only provided uneconomical added seating capacity.

Hapag-Lloyd was also too late getting into air freight. It now has to go because rates don't even cover costs. Jettisoning the air arm would come as a severe blow to the City of Hanover and its airport.

The city's air authority has leased a seven-storey administrative building and hangars to Hapag-Lloyd. Construction, subsidised by the state, cost DM65m.

Hanover is also the seat of a major customer of the airline, Touristik Union International in which Hapag Lloyd has a stake through its subsidiary, the Bremen-based travel agency.

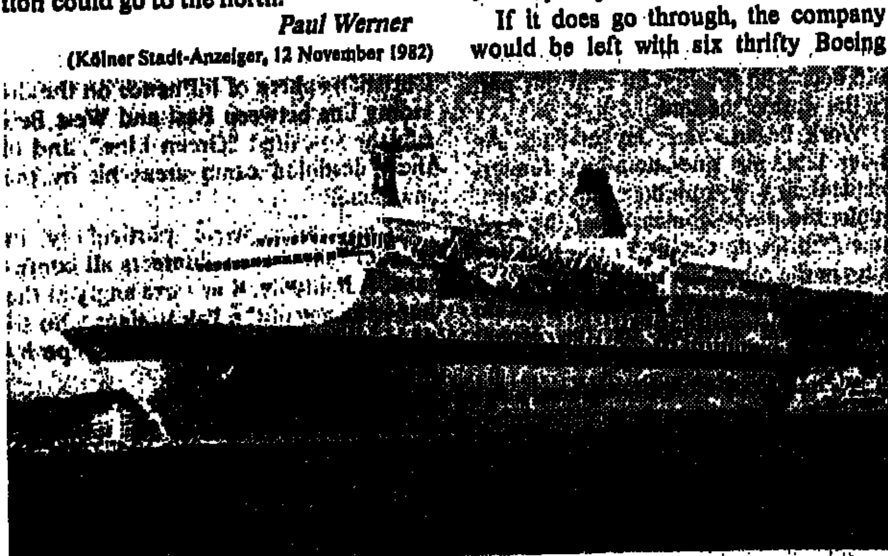
The travel agency is still making a profit. Its customers are mostly in the income brackets least affected by the slump. Cruises on the new flagship Europa, are selling like hotcakes.

Other strong points are coastal and offshore shipping and harbour operations.

But some of the scheduled and tramp freight business is generating big losses.

Dieter Tasch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 November 1982)



One of Hapag-Lloyd's more buoyant assets ... the passenger liner 'Europa'.
(Photo: Hapag-Lloyd)

■ AID

Human rights group goes for its targets regardless of political colour

An organisation to help people who are threatened or oppressed, *Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker* (GfbV) was founded 12 years ago.

Its foundation was in reaction to the political selectivity of students protests. Two students founded first *Biafra Hilfe* in 1968, and then GfbV two years later.

One of these students, 43 year-old general secretary of the GfbV Tilman Zülch, experienced the feelings of having to flee and being driven out of a country while he was a child.

During his studies he began to take a closer look at discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities, particularly in the Third World.

For over twelve years he has been working fulltime to help the human rights of threatened minorities.

"We are responsible for those who no one talks about", he says, describing the society's objectives.

Following its modest start, the GfbV has now become the Federal Republic's second largest organisation for human rights behind Amnesty International. The financial independence of its activities is guaranteed by the monthly contribution of its 1,400 members.

In special meetings 24 regional groups inform those interested about case of the violation of human rights.

Letters of protest are written to governments, translations made and money collected for the financing of individual projects.

Members working full-time in the Göttingen head office coordinate the society's activities.

This is the seat of the editors of the magazine *Pogrom* which is published bi-monthly.

The society became well-known during its activities for the Sinti and Romany gypsies in the Federal Republic. They were persecuted during the Nazi era when half a million were murdered in the concentration camps.

After the war their fate has hushed up and efforts to obtain reparations for have been fruitless.

Together with the Organisation of German Sinti and the Romany World Union, the GbfV held a commemoration service in the former concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen in 1979.

Many people then heard of the genocide against the gypsies for the first time. Through such action the GfbV has helped dispel prejudices. The authorities and the police in the Federal Republic now have greater understanding for the problems facing the 30,000 Sinti and Romanies living there.

For the GfbV one great success is the fact that the stateless Romanies have managed to obtain West German nationality. According to information from the GfbV Romanies in Poland are still persecuted. They are hard-hit by the Polish economic crisis and the GfbV recently sent 250 parcels to them. The society spends an annual DM150,000 for humanitarian activities of this kind. If the funds are not enough, some of the larger aid organisations of the church lend a helping hand.

"What we are able to do ourselves", says Tilmann Zülch, "is in many cases pretty unspectacular". Right from the start the GfbV has done a great deal for the living conditions of Red Indians in North America.

Its involvement in political problems very often irritates the ruling groups in the countries affected. They view such action as a provocative interference in their own affairs.

Describing the magazine *Pogrom*, Alfred Grosser, Professor for Politics in France and expert on German affairs, says: "What it has to say will sound unpleasant to some. Particularly since it's always good to hear about atrocities others have committed but when your own are being criticised this is another matter altogether."

Dogmatic Communists dislike the way the GfbV points out the discrimination against Tibetans in China or the expelling of the Crimean Tars in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era. "Right-wingers tend to neglect the fact that we do a lot for the victims of Soviet foreign policy, for example, in Afghanistan and Ethiopia."

Only recently the society pointed out the continuing oppression of the Indians in Nicaragua under the Sandinista government.

The news arriving in the Göttingen head office from all over the world merge to present a depressing picture.

A great deal is unbelievable. For example, in Mauritania there are still 100,000 people belonging to the Hatarin minority, in slavery.

In a report by the London Anti Slavery Society to the United Nations Commission for Human Rights: "In Mauritania you become a slave by birth, arrest or purchase, The first method is the most common, for example if you are born the child of a slave. Slavetrading is also still practised.

"The most widespread form is the sale of children; all children belong to the master of their mothers."

The Mauritarian government doesn't deny that slavery exists in the West African state. It blames the social and economic backwardness in this country for the fact that the slavery condemned by the UN Convention of Human Rights has still not been eliminated.

"The appalling poverty which prevails in developing countries such as our own" said a government representative speaking before the UN Human Rights Commission "unfortunately makes all this talk of the freedom of the individual ridiculous".

Together with the Anti Slavery Society, the GfbV has now presented a report on the fate of the Haratin. Members of persecuted minorities again and again seek political asylum. The provision laid down in the Federal Republic's Basic Law are quite clear.

Article 16 states: "Politically persecuted persons are to be guaranteed asylum." However, the courts are often overtaxed and in many cases little is known about the extent of persec[...] in the country in question.

This is where the GfbV exerts [...] lend a helping hand. Let us take [...] example the case of the Assyr[...] Syrian-orthodox Christians living [...] minority amongst Moslems in a nu[...] of Middle-Eastern countries (Tu[...] Syria, Iran and Iraq). For many y[...] now they have been subjected to [...]gious persecution.

In this case the GfbV can count [...] the support of a qualified Arabist, [...]briele Yonan, form the University [...] Berlin.

She has often helped authori[...] courts, lawyers and aid organisati[...] with her special reports on the p[...]blems facing Assyrians. Her article[...] *Pogrom* and her book *Assyrer h*[...] (Assyrians Today) served as a basis [...] many decision taken in asylum cases.

She was responsible for enabling [...]merous Turkish citizens with Syrian [...]thodox denomination to receive asy[...]

The plaintiffs were able to prove [...] they had suffered reprisals in the h[...] province of Mardin in South-East T[...]key which had been tolerated by the [...]vernment authorities.

Human rights organisations are o[...]ged to maintain strict political neutr[...]ty if they are to help effectively. For [...] persecution of minorities is still real [...] in many countries, no matter what [...] political system is.

Unfortunately, general interest [...] usually only then aroused when host[...]ges are taken and bombs thrown. T[...] applies as much to the Palestinians [...] to the Armenians and the South Mol[...]cans. The Society for Threatened P[...]ples wants to help before the situati[...] becomes much worse.

Matthias N[...]

(Die Zeit, 12 Novembe[...])

Volunteers turn the taps back on in Beirut

A team of 75 German volunteers has been mounting a relief operation in Lebanon to repair the water piping system in the war-torn capital of Beirut.

All, 69 of them Bavarians, went to Lebanon under the auspices of the *Technisches Hilfswerk* (THW, technical relief organisation).

One of the team related what it was like: "Everything was different from what we thought. After seeing television reports we were ready for really difficult problems, not only in working conditions but in what life itself would be like.

"But it was not like that at all. On the building sites, Lebanese women brought us Turkish coffee and Arab tea each day.

"When they found out that we were West German, they even gave us canned beer from home."

The beer was a major experience for one of the Bavarians: "Who would have thought that you could get that good old beer with the lion on it in this part of the world?" he said.

Work began every day at 6am. An hour later six one-and-a-half tonners made their way from the camp in Beirut along the posh promenade of the Avenue Charles de Gaulle to the building sites in the centre of Beirut.

There was plenty of hard work in areas worst affected by the Israeli bombings of summer 1982.

At the "Coca-Cola-roundabout", the gateway to the previous Palestinian quarters of Sabra and Chatilla, caterpillar vehicles belonging to a Lebanese construction firm uncovered the pipe system to enable the THW men to get to the root of the problem.

Earlier, soldiers belonging to the peace-keeping force had searched the area for mines. The 75 Germans were often surprised to find explosives, ammunition and weapons. For this reason it was good to have the French Foreign legion troops around.

Dirk-Hubertus Bosse, head of the project team, described its function as essential "for saving and keeping lives".

At the same time he underlined the unpolitical nature of the German disaster prevention activities.

"We have never had our work interrupted by any of the political parties here in Beirut" he explains.

Repairs are carried out in both the Christian sphere of influence on the dividing line between East and West Beirut, the so-called "Green Line", and in the Palestinian camp areas hit by the massacre.

"These areas were particularly in need of relief" the volunteers all confirmed. Admittedly, they were angry at the impertinence of the Palestinians who siphoned off the water from the pipe by just banging a hole in it.

Bosse had already been to Lebanon in July, commissioned by the Bonn Foreign Office, to discover the possibilities of a THW operation.

Together with the Charge d'affaires in the German Embassy in Beirut he visited the Israeli troops occupying the South Lebanese towns of Sidon, Tyre and Damour.

Despite the devastation in the [...] PLO centres, Bosse could not [...] anything the German squad could h[...] done.

So attention was focussed on "Ope[...]tion Drinking Water" for Beirut and [...] plan of operation worked out toget[...] with the Water Works in Beirut.

The Technischer Hilfswerk was rea[...] for operation at the end of August, b[...] the "political difficulties" prevented [...] speedy start. It took until the 22 Oc[...]ber for the Italian ferry to arrive w[...] the technical equipment required by [...] THW team. The man themselves fl[...] down in aircraft belonging to a Leba[...]se aircraft company.

Bosse is "more than satisfied" w[...] the work he and his team have done.

"We were able to do more than [...] had originally expected. We sealed [...] all the points of leakage in the pip[...] increased the amount of drinking wa[...] available, and made it possible for th[...]se living in the high-rise flats to get th[...] water."

The Foreign Office in Bonn provid[...] DM1m for the operation, DM250,0[...] came from UNICEF and DM500,0[...] was promised by the Water Works [...] Beirut. These amounts and the w[...] carried out are of course only drops [...] the ocean, if one considers the impli[...]tions of Israel's "Peace for Gali[...]" operation, which was not restricted [...] Beirut.

The German Embassy in Beirut ce[...]brated the "operation drinki[...] water" as "the German contribution [...]wards reconstructing Lebanon". O[...] can only hope that assistance for Le[...]non will continue in this form.

Michael Wras[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 November 1[...])

COMMUNICATIONS

[M]ulti-language satellite TV [s]hows its paces

Allgemeine Zeitung
MAINZER ANZEIGER

[...] first international, multi-langu[a]ge television programme in Euro[pe has] been sent over the waves. It was [sent] from the Baden Baden studios [of] *Südwestfunk*, one of Germany's [...] radio and television companies.

[...]ns caught by a comsat in orbit [...] kilometres above the earth and [...]d back. Only the television peo[ple an]d a few journalists saw the results [in the] studio: six screens with the same [annou]ncer speaking simultaneously in [...]guages.

[...] of the running translations was [...] that of a female voice.

[The] whole affair was relayed up from [...]bolic transmitter. This technology [is sl]ightly ahead of its time and in a few [years] it will be normal practice to em[ploy] satellites in orbit for the direct [trans]mission of telecasts from the pro[ducer] to the consumer.

[To]wards the end of this decade the [...]olic transmitter, about one metre [in dia]meter, will replace the traditional [...]ound relayers, providing of [...] programmes are not channelled [into] our homes via cables.

[The] whole thing presupposes that the [...]sary transmission satellites are [...] into an orbit directly above the [...]or, and that the receivers set up [the re]quired receiving installations.

[An]other presupposition is that the [Feder]al Republic's Post Office decides [to go] ahead with its plans for TV cabl[ing].

[...] Europe's TV supply alone bet[ween] eight and 24 satellites will have to [be put] into orbit.

[Ger]man plans expect the first satel[lite] of this kind to start operations in [...] again presupposing that the Euro[pean] launcher rocket Ariane overcomes [its pro]blems.

[The] satellite being used each evening [this w]eek for the European test prog[ramm]e is already a veteran in space.

[Ho]wever, it was good enough for this [trial] run and European broadcasters [wou]ld like to make full use of it before [it is c]ast aside to orbit as space waste.

[Sate]llites of this kind and their suc[cesso]rs, however, are unlike the terres[trial st]ations not restricted to any one [...]al area.

[The] future West German satellite, for [exam]ple, will be sent to parts of [Scand]inavia, France, the Benelux states, [Swit]zerland and Austria, just as the [inter]national satellite transmissions [will be] able to be received here.

[Thi]s gave the European Broadcasting [...] the idea of enriching the TV [...] in future by providing European [progra]mmes via satellite transmission.

[The] trial run in West German follows [...] in four other Western European [countr]ies.

[Wes]t Germany's contribution will fill [...]le week's evenings, but the aver[age v]iewer will not be able to take part [in the] experiment.

[The] suppliers of this European-style [...] which will be assessed on Wednesday by members of the European parliament and in which many Arab states in North Africa have shown interest, are 15 countries united within the European Broadcasting Union (EBU).

Programmes will be shown this week in the six most important Western and southern European languages including Greek.

On Friday, the German newscaster, thanks to invisible dubbing interpreters, will even come to terms with the last mentioned language when reading his news broadcast.

At midday each day the broadcasting stations taking part link up to work out the content of the news programmes, providing items of interest to viewers at home and in Europe as a whole.

The result could be seen live on Monday evening. We saw how customs officials in a small French town made efforts to "freeze" imports of Japanese video-recorders to prevent the competition from the Far East from endangering European industry.

We found out how Britain's Lady Diana was getting on with her anorexia and what the doctor had ordered. Then there was an Italian news item on the anti-terrorist squad. These were all topics which are only touched on normally during our news broadcasts.

Willibald Hilf *Südwestfunk's* programme director, views this kind of Europeanisation of future satellite programmes as a good chance to improve European communication, mutual understanding and bit by bit break down the language barriers.

For, anyone interested in individual items can hear them in any of the six languages. The 12 interpreters (six groups to two) have certainly got a lot to twist their tongues around. Things can get really complicated. For example, during a German "Pro and Contra" programme, part of the trial run in the Federal Republic, the international guests will all be speaking in their mother tongues. This means a lot of jumping about for the interpreters.

At the moment this European satellite programme is only beginning to take shape. We still don't know who will be transmitting what, from where and for whom. It is only part of a number of programmes, some aimed at specific target groups and others of a more general nature.

Even if these programmes only interest one per cent of viewer potential, it still means three million out of 300 million Europeans!

In the USA, where TV technology is well ahead of European activities, there are cities where the viewer can choose between 35 different programmes, broadcast into his home via normal terrestrial transmitters, satellite or cables.

This is still unimaginable in Europe. Nevertheless, the Europeans have got their "foot in the door" leading to media of the future.

The programme director of SWF says: "There are more programmes in the German aid than can at present be received ..."

Günther Leicher

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 24 November 19682)

Minister for Posts makes a controversial start

Before he became Minister for Posts and Telecommunications, Christian Schwarz-Schilling didn't have much to do with this ministry.

A glance at the records doesn't exactly show him to be a man of great involvement in postal issues.

Before the change of government in Bonn he had hardly passed any comments on this field. It is unlikely that Chancellor Kohl included him in his Cabinet purely on the grounds of his comments on the restriction of telephone links between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

At the time he spoke of "a further slap in the face for the idea of a free, world-wide exchange of opinions and information".

Ever since he took up his new job, however, Christian Schwarz-Schilling has caused more controversy than any other Cabinet member.

He has given many interviews recently on cabling and new telecommunications technologies.

In the next 10 to 15 years he expects investements in this field to amount to about DM100bn.

After only two days in office, Schwarz-Schilling announced his intention of additionally investing DM4bn in telecommunications during the next two years, thus creating 100,000 jobs. A short while later he had to face financial facts and cut down his expectations to a figure of DM590m for cabling investment in 1983.

Christian Schwarz-Schilling ... postal charges not to be raised — yet. (Photo: Sven Simon)

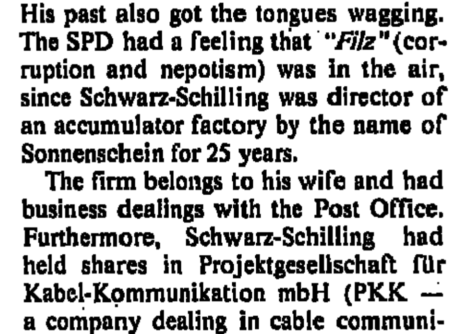
Many were surprised and annoyed at the speed with which the qualified media expert included the postal system in his telecommunications plans.

The Union of Postal Workers complained about the "hectic pace". The opposition in Bonn criticised his "cabling mania" which has led to a decision to go ahead with laying the technologically obsolete copper-coaxial cables at great cost and using public money.

In their opinion he should have waited a few years until the more efficient optical fibre cables are available.

On postal matters in the narrower sense, Schwarz-Schilling has only made the announcement that postal charges will not be raised until 1984.

This sounds good but still doesn't come up to the announcement by the last-but-one Minister, Kurt Gscheidle.



His past also got the tongues wagging. The SPD had a feeling that *"Filz"* (corruption and nepotism) was in the air, since Schwarz-Schilling was director of an accumulator factory by the name of Sonnenschein for 25 years.

The firm belongs to his wife and had business dealings with the Post Office. Furthermore, Schwarz-Schilling had held shares in Projektgesellschaft für Kabel-Kommunikation mbH (PKK — a company dealing in cable communication) up until he took up office.

He handed over his directorship and his shares shortly before his appointment. This took the steam out of accusations that there was an interlocking of private and political interests.

However, the fact that he was chairman of the Bundestag inquiry commission for "new information and communications technologies" and at the same time a partner in the PHK company, which was doing its utmost to get in on the promising cable business, still left much unanswered.

The question critics ask Schwarz-Schilling is an awkward one: How can someone reach an independent appraisal of technology within such a commission and yet at the same time have a direct economic interest in introducing this technology.

Helmut Kohl provided the backing for his Minister in the Bundestag and certified that he had managed the matter most correctly. Nevertheless, the whole Sonnenschein affairs casts a shadow over Schwarz-Schilling's first days in office.

He is not only responsible for 500,000 employees, but runs a public organisation which places orders worth billions. If he had become Minister for Family Affairs, says SPD expert on postal affairs Paterna, there wouldn't have been such a fuss.

Or even Minister for Education? This department would have seemed more in line with Schwarz-Schilling's background.

Born in Innsbruck, he grew up in Berlin where he obtained his PhD in Sinology. Afterwards, he took up a bank apprenticeship and in 1957 a management position in Sonnenschein.

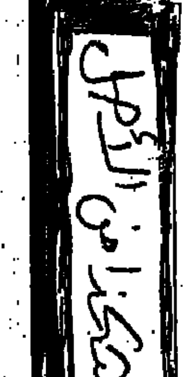
He became a member of the CDU in 1960, and then made his way through the usual stages of a political career: *Kreistag* (district assembly), *Landtag* (state parliament) between 1966 and 1976 in Hesse, *Bundestag* (national Parliament) since 1976.

For a whole decade he was involved in educational matters in Bonn before switching to media politics as his second "playing field".

That he became Minister in this field was a general surprise. The fact that there is quite a gap between oppositional theory and government practice is something Schwarz-Schilling has learnt fast.

When the SPD Ministers Gscheidle and Matthöfer were in office he never missed out criticising the out-of-date te-

Continued on page 10



ENERGY

Cutback in nuclear fuel reprocessing plans: two plants get the axe

There will be less reprocessing of burnt fuel elements from nuclear energy plants in the Federal Republic of Germany than originally planned.

There is no other way of interpreting an announcement by the German Society for the Reprocessing of Nuclear Fuels (DWK) that they do not now wish to build reprocessing plants in Hesse and the Rhineland-Palatinate.

They will be limiting plants to projects in Schwandorf in Bavaria and Dragahn in Lower Saxony.

By the 1990s each of the two plants will be reprocessing 350 tons of burnt fuel elements a year, providing that is of course they are built and function.

This means the fuel still contained in the elements, uranium (but also the newly created plutonium) is as far as possible to be extracted and re-used.

Admittedly, it is then much more expensive than new uranium fuel.

The rest has to be packaged in such a way as to be ready for final storage, say for example in glass ceramics.

All this presupposes that the basic policy decision, planned for 1985, comes out in favour of reprocessing and against direct final storage.

Another presupposition, due to the reservation for approval expressed by the Bavarian state government, is that there is a guarantee for the final storage of nuclear waste which has accumulated during reprocessing.

At present, in the Federal Republic about 350 tons of burnt fuel elements are left over each year.

Every new reactor of the Biblis-type increases this nuclear waste by 30 tons. The old rods are first placed in "cooling-down basins" where the short-life radioisotopes disintegrate.

To increase the capacity of the basins work has begun on converting these into compact storage areas.

Via technical tricks more fuel elements can be placed in a smaller space.

However, they cannot remain there for an unlimited period and the capacities are limited anyway.

For this reason operators of German nuclear energy plants sent their burnt elements to the French Cogema society for interim storage and if possible to be reprocessed in The Hague.

This is where above all the burnt elements from the older French gas graphite reactors are worked on, and to a limited extent and according to a different method rods from light-water reactors. They mainly come from abroad, primarily from the Federal Republic, but increasingly from French light-water reactors.

Finally, a minimal amount of works is carried out on rods from fast breeders.

During the first half of 1982, for example, 153 tons of lightwater reactor fuel from France and abroad were reprocessed. In July and August things were cleaned up a bit.

Since September the French gas-graphite reactor fuel is being processed. Altogether, 420 tons each year.

As a result of the rapid expansion of the French nuclear economic branch a total of 14,000 tons of burnt rods is expected to accumulate by 1995. For this purpose, the French plants are likely to be used.

The German contracts with Cogema expire in 1985. Starting in 1990 the nuclear waste resulting from the reprocessing of German material will be sent back to the Federal Republic: about 2,300 highly-active glass blocks and 35,000 barrels of weak and medium radioactive waste.

At the start of 1982 there were already 55,800 barrels of weak radioactive and 1,500 barrrels of medium radioactive material in Germany's nuclear energy plants, and collecting points for the research centres in the Federal Republic.

Each year another 1,300 cubic metres of weak radioactive material is added (some of it from clinics).

In the shaft in Asse 125,000 barrels of weak and medium radioactive material was finally stored. There is no more room left.

An interim storage area is being built in Gorleben, which can take 1,500 tons of old fuel elements. It is to become operational at the start of 1984, although there may well be delays for legal reasons.

Whether the intended containers for the old burnt material are useful has yet to be shown in practice.

Another interim storage plant has been planned for 1,500 tons of used material. Whether it will become operational depends on whether the salt rocks in Gorleben prove to be suitable for final storage.

This won't be known until 1990. There is quite a large risk that the planned reprocessing plants will not work at all or not well. Problems exist in all processing plants throughout the world. This is why the DWK is hoping for assistance from abroad. France is continuing to build reprocessing plants and has given its foreign customers options on taking greater amounts of material.

In Britain negotiations are being carried out on future reprocessing.

The corresponding plant in Sellafield, it is hoped, will be able to begin processing light-water elements in 1987.

The Cogema has played it safe. The contracts do not have to be abided by if technical or political factors make it undesirable.

The British are expected to proceed in a similar manner. Every new nuclear energy plant in the Federal Republic means new problems for the DWK.

Many believe that the unsolved problem of nuclear waste may bring about a sudden end to the utilisation of nuclear energy. Most decontamination plans are at present accompanied by the principle of hope.

Martin Urban

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 November 1982)

Minister to go to work in a sugar-beet car

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The official car of the Federal Minister for Agriculture, Josef Ertl, is to run on sugar beet petrol.

In a test programme by the Ministry and the Union Rheinische Braunkohlen Kraftstoffe AG in Cologne the car is to be given a trial run of one year using this fuel mixture of normal petrol and five per cent ethanol.

One source of ethanol is sugar beet...

The ethanol is produced in a special plant in a sugar factory in Ochsenfurt. The Ministry of Agriculture has provided DM 2.5m for this experimental project. A second project has been agreed upon with the West German Plant ... the Utilisation of Corn Schnapps ... Münster.

In this case, the residual material ... over following distillation will ... 10,000 tons of ethanol to be produced each year.

According to calculations by the Ministry 350,000 to 400,000 hectares ... three per cent of the total agricultural productive land, could be used for ... production of ethanol, if this "petrol" were to be mixed with normal fuel.

An investigation by the EEC came to the conclusion that if this were ... five per cent of the Community's primary energy demand could be covered ... this biomass, without endangering food production.

The ethanol additive with the ... sounding name Euro-Super has the advantage of burning more cleanly ... the usual fuels, says the Kraftstoff AG.

Nothing has to be changed in the engine, and the sugar beet fuel makes ... that the car runs smoothly, increasing its pulling strength in the lower and medium rotational frequencies.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 November 1982)

Posts Minister

Continued from page 9

...telecommunications monopoly which ... hibits investments.

Now, however, that he has ... chance to let private enterprise take a slice of the cake, he has stated that he wishes to leave the Telecommunications Investment Law as it is.

He is hoping for "liberal, flexible" realisation of the law, to ... "what I can get out of the law if I apply it properly".

A so-called cooperation model ... the offing, which plan closer cooperation with private firms in the event of future cabling.

The setting-up and operation of ... plant, however, is still the Post Office's responsibility.

Apart from this, after a certain period of use the private cable networks are to be handed back to the Post Office. It becomes clear: what the Post Office has got is not readily parted with, even under a new political leader.

Hans Peter Schütz

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 21 November 1982)

THE ARTS

Lampooning hate, but in secret

...other work in German classical literature has been so carefully ... and if possible kept concealed ... Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht*.

...work, which Kleist has ... than any other meant to be in... for the immedaite moment" (al... the first performance was 50 ... later) is viewed as a lampoon of ...

...Prussian patriot wrote it in 1808 ... appeal to the Germans to over... their particularism and unite in ... struggle against the Napoleonic oc... led by one *Führer*.

...was always popular in times of ... chauvinism, where it was ne... to create concepts of an enemy. ...though it had not been performed ... 40 years in West Germany, it ... with concept of the GDR un... Ulbricht, the Americans taking the ... of Napoleon.

...is its relevance today? In the ... issued for the performance ... Bochum theatre we find an arti... Ruth K. Angress, of the USA, ... relates this piece to Kleist's novel *Verlobung in St. Domingo*, which ... with the slave trade of Haiti dur... French colonial period.

...reaches the conclusion that ... Hermann is the archetype of ... modern terrorist and guerilla ... However, she does not regard it ... purely agitation.

...Kleist's Hermann is undoubtedly a ... character, and only obsessed ... will be able to identify them... with him.

...cool power politician, he uses ... for his own ends, even his ... wife. He unscrupulously brings ... to his own people so that they ... take up arms against the Romans. ... spreads lies and is willing to set ... whole of Teutoburg alight", if the ... behave more civilised than he ...

...curse on this breed of ... In his production, Claus Peymann takes up these themes and stresses at the same time the hidden bour... comedy in private relationships.

...piece is set on a mainly empty ... draped with black curtains, an ... "sometime".

...mann wears a Che Guevara-type ... the Romans dressed in their ... jackets remind us of the Napoleo... their wellington boots and tro... helmets almost resembling British ... officers.

...wear the Teutonic helmet. The ... are further alienated by the ... the lining of the coats are worn ... outside (costume: Ursula Ren...).

...as in his production of *Tasso* ... removes the exaggerated ... style of language and replaces it ... everyday parlando.

...is sometimes irritating, and often ... of Shaw and Giradoux. ...and again, however, there is a ... of theatrical theatre character... stereotype gestures and mimed ...

...is not really that important since ... primarily centres on the re... between Hermann and Thusnelda and not the quarrels between the Romans and Teutons. The original text itself provides the necessary comic essentials, the Teuton Hermann always calling his wife "Thuschen, mein Herzchen" (Thusnelda, my sweetheart). Their relationship almost reminds us of a comedy of broken marriage. Thusnelda has been spurred on by Hermann to get a Roman legate to fall in love with her.

In doing so, she becomes more entangled than was originally planned. With Kirsten Dane parodying the part of a boulevard heroine and keeping a distance to her part and her means of presentation, Gerd Voss does a splendid performance as a smart and cool political manager, who always manipulates his opponents with friendly understatement.

The heaviness of tirades of hate are even toned down by Voss's conversational tone.

Towards the end, in anticipation of fame after his death we see the silhouette of the monument erected in his honour (*Hermannsdenkmal*) projected onto the back wall.

Such scenic images only emerge towards the end. There is a successful denunciation of fighting scenes on stage. A faceless crowd hiding behind shields, moving forward inch by inch. The choreography of the battle stuck in the mud is splendid.

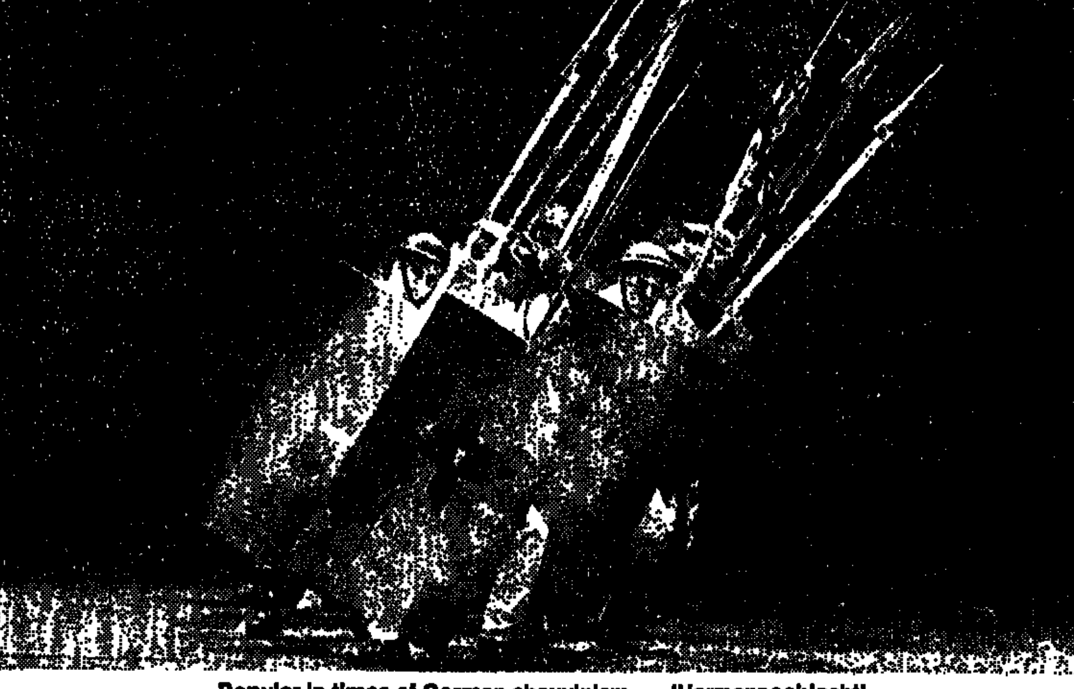
Varus (Ulrich Pleitgen), loses his trousers whilst dying, taking his farewell naked waist-down.

Unfortunately, however, this piece does not provide us with an answer as to the relevance today.

This did not disturb the audience, which celebrated the whole thing as an event.

Werner Schulze-Reimpell

(Rheinische Merkur/Christ und Welt, 19 November 1982)



Popular in times of German chauvinism ... 'Hermannschlacht'. (Photo: Abisag Tüllmann)

Brand new lease of life for Berlin opera company

Ever since Götz Friedrich took over as head of the *Deutsche Oper* in West Berlin, it has turned into an exciting musical theatre which once again sets its own standards.

Theatre audiences are still shaking from the shock of Neuenfels' provocative *Macht des Schicksals*. Now, Wolfgang Rihm's *Tutuguri*, a "poème dansé", extends beyond the scope of traditional balet with its eruptive dance repertoire.

The ballet scene in Berlin already began its revival a year ago with the first performance in the Friedrich era.

Forsythe' expressive *Nacht aus Blei*, set to music by Hans Jürgen von Bose, turned out to be a great success.

Friedrich's second dance project, in which Wolfgang Rihm wrote the music to Antonin Artaud's *Tutuguri*, was presented by Moses Pendleton (choreograph and soloist) as the *Ritual of the Black Sun*.

The final applause, interrupted by only a few boos, sealed the success of this bold production.

While visiting the Red Indian tribe of the Tarahumaras in 1936 Artaud became witness to a most moving ritual.

He decribed his experience in verse and prose, and with a basic obsession shows us the black Mass in apocalyptic visions of "the eternal death of the sun".

Heretically blasphemous, the author postulates the abolition of the Cross, the end of Christian Trinity. The deeply pessimistic concept of the world finally points towards Man's renewal resulting from his own powers.

The ideas behind Artaud's "theatre of cruelty" are rooted in the tragedy of his own life, Artaud spending the many years in French lunatic asylums.

The crude sujet of a distant mythical world is difficult to transpose onto a stage.

Language of the body, which does not need the word, music as a language behind language, and moving people in space enable the subject matter and the inner drama to be transported via this medium.

The metaphorical interaction on Berlin's operatic stage merged elements of archeology and science fiction into one aesthetic whole.

Tutuguri has a personal effect, since it does not only consist of the ceremony of an exotic necromancy. Wolfgang Rihms, the 30 year-old composer from Karlsruhe, gained international recognition in the world of musical theatre with his *Jacob Lenz*. This ouevre, which was also put on in Nuremberg, developed into the season's hit.

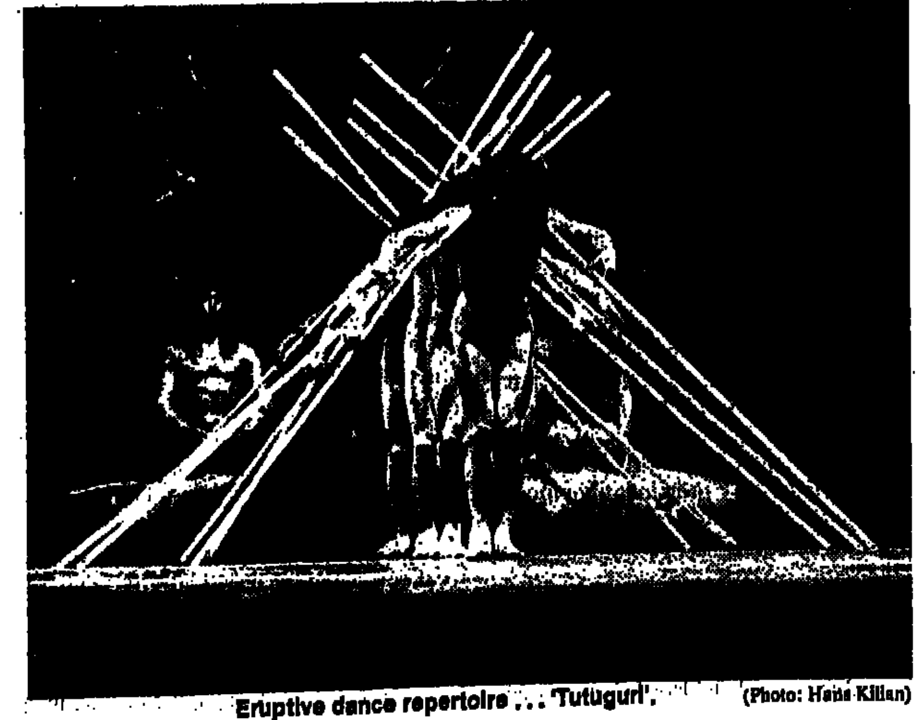
The Hamburg production (director: Klauspeter Seibel) was acclaimed in Helsinki. *Tutuguri* risks a radical break with the "Lenz" style, and creates a completely different kind of music, more unrestricted.

"It ought to be in its basic form" say Rihm. He manages to conjure up the ritual character by emotionalising sound and rhythm in an incredibly dynamic form.

During the second part the orchestra only requires percussion, with choir and speech voices adding the basic elements.

Dark or glaring, but always in extreme ecstasy, Rihm releases a Dionysian delirium of incredible power. Rarely has modern music captured the attention of its listener in such a direct ...

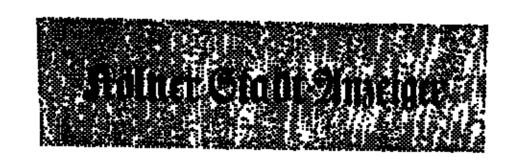
Continued on page 12



Eruptive dance repertoire ... 'Tutuguri'. (Photo: Heinz Kilian)

IDEAS

Writer's concern a moral message



Playwright Heinar Kipphardt has died, aged 60. His main theme in the last 25 years of his life was the individual's responsibility within society.

It was the *leitmotiv* of his works from the time of his theatre success *Der Hund des Generals* until just before his death when he completed the play *Bruder Eichmann.* The play is to be premiered at Munich's Residenztheater next January.

Most of his plays revolve around the question of a character's true ego and the reasons why he acted in a particular way.

Kipphardt asked himself that very question in connection with Eichmann, the central figure of his last play: "Had I been in a position similar to that of Eichmann and had I grown up under similar circumstances, would I have become another Eichmann?"

This deeply personal and radical way of posing a question aims at uncovering the context of psychological development and personal background.

Kipphardt was a neurologist who practised medicine at one point of his life.

He was born in Silesia on 8 March 1922, and studied in Bonn and Düsseldorf.

Even during his student days he combined medicine and the theatre by attending drama lectures as well.

The greatest impact on his personality came from his experiences as a soldier in the Second World War.

His father had been killed in a concentration camp, and this left a deep mark on his life and works.

He viewed his literary work with an almost deadly seriousness. As he once said in a discussion: "The stage can only be justified if it pursues moral and political aims and tries to influence society."

Kipphardt lived by this maxim which — despite all differences — he shared with Peter Weiss and Rolf Hochhuth, the other two moralists of the German theatre. It is no coincidence that these three authors also spearheaded the socalled documentary theatre that put the theatre back into public discussion in the 1960s. While Kipphardt's *Der Hund des Generals* (1958) still related a brutal, tension-laden story from the war, in *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer* (1964) he presented the arguments for the disclosure of secrets to the Soviet Union by the American physicist Oppenheimer with the detachment of a chronicler. The dialogues were based on actual record and the moral impetus was strong enough to keep the audience rapt.

Oppenheimer and shortly thereafter *Die Geschichte des Joel Brand* were originally written for television; and it was this sort of political subject that made the television of that era a major instrument of the performing arts — something that has not been repeated since.

The artistic instrument of documentation, tried and tested on TV, was provocatively transferred to the stage.

In 1948, Kipphardt moved to the GDR where he worked as the chief dramaturg (in certain European theatres a person responsible for selecting and arranging the repertoire and who often cooperates with and advises the producer during rehearsals) of East Berlin's Deutsches Theater. But following censure by the authorities he returned to the West ten years later.

But in the West, too, he was politically annoying because he praised the "traitor" Oppenheimer as a guardian of peace who prevented a dangerous nuclear imbalance.

Kipphardt also became involved in current discussions on hot topics and was chief dramaturge of Munich's Kammerspiele where he caused a controversy in 1971 over the (ultimately thwarted) printing of the programme for the premiere of Wolf Biermann's *Dra-Dra.*

The programme was to have depicted German politicians and captains of industry as dragons of capitalism. Kipphardt was fired and resumed his career as a freelancer.

It was not until the mid-1970s that he aroused public attention again with his *März* which attacked the psychiatric system as a TV and radio play, a novel and a theatre play. Kipphardt, who was after all an expert, maintained that the mentally ill individual received too little attention.

His play about the "desk murderer" Eichmann marks the playwright's return to politics and documentaries at the end of his life.

It is these works that appeal to political conscience that will survive. *Oppenheimer* is just making its second round of German theatres.

Rainer Hartmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 November 1982)

City to get a brush up

Nuremberg has appointed a woman as its official city artist. Anna Recker, 32, was chosen from 30 applicants. She was born in Westphalia and has been running an art school in Luxemburg. She is Nuremberg's third city artist. Her predecessors were a Pole and an Englishman. Already her successor has been groomed for when the six-month term is over: a Japanese woman. The official artist can paint what he or she wants to and is paid DM2,000 a month. At the end of the term Frau Recker will be able to hold an exhibition and display her pictures for sale.

(Photo: dpa)

Opera company revival

Continued from page 11

way (mainly due to the young Spanish director, Arturo Tamayo).

Artaud's original material and Rihm's music had already formed an association beyond the realm of traditional balet adaptation.

The American Moses Pendleton does not come from an opera school, his *Tuguri* has nothing to do with traditional ballet.

In his capacity as librettist, choreograph, director, scenario man and solo dancer, he created a new grammar of body language, increasing its vocabulary with new ideas and forms.

The stage is turned into a visionary field of conflicts.

Extremely archaic and yet at the same time dazzlingly exorbitant, Rihm shows us the occult dance of the demons, on the living vulcano of a godly pyramid.

An example of musical teatro totale. Pendleton's comprehensive concept unites effects of light and shade, as if taken from the Black Theatre, and a fantastic play of symmetry and geometry.

Magic hallucinations combine to form vivacious bodiliness. Grotesque masks, deformed (or mutated) living things, lizards, strange figures and shapes, remind us of the terrible figures portrayed by Hieronymous Busch.

In burning intensity Pendleton takes on the central role of Momo. To begin with, today's Lord in white is seen searching and wandering between vague shapes from prehistoric times, then in the centre of the ritual as a harassed human being fighting for his life.

This premiere in Berlin, which was acknowledged by prominent composers (Nono, Reimann, Killmayer), can be regarded as one of the best premieres of the year.

Muscial theatre will be hearing a lot more of Wolfgang Rihm.

Fritz Schleicher

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 15 November 1982)

Thinkers go into the melting pot

WELT am SONNTAG

A villa in the Grunewald borough West Berlin has become home year for 23 men and two women.

They will meet for meals and tails, stroll in the park — and talk.

"They" are philosophers and cists, musicians and writers.

The aim, says the leader of the ject, Professor Peter Wapnewski, to gage in discussion beyond the in dual's specialised field.

Berlin leftists object. They call project an attempt to create "conservative elite".

The experiment was prompted conditions at Germany's univers Professor Wapnewski: "Scientists longer meet because they enjoy talk to their fellow man. And the confe ces they're forced to attend make it most impossible genuinely to disc the problems of science and research

"Our great social achievement, fact that now 20 per cent of high sch graduates go to university compa with three per cent in earlier years, led to a levelling down of research."

This process is clearly shown in a st dy on the most quoted scientists: one of world's 300 most quoted sc tists and researchers between 1961 1976 was a German — the Munich mist, Professor Huisgen.

Berlin, the city where Max and Albert Einstein once did their search work, decided to do somet about this by establishing "Science College" in the Grunewald la. The project was awarded a DM3 grant by the Volkswagen Foundation

A college committee has now for second time selected the candidates the one-year free stay; 23 men and women, five are from the Federal Re blic of Germany:

- Professor Dietrich Dörner, 44, Bamberg psychologist.
- Professor Wolfgang Fietkau, 41, Essen language expert.
- Dr Eckhard Frehland, 40, a C tance physicist.
- Professor Christian von Krock 55, a Göttingen philologist.
- Professor Odo Marquard, 54, Giessen philosopher.

The women are Hungarian arch Dr Agnes Sagvari and Israeli histo Shulamit Volkov.

Each of the guests is expected to ver a major lecture and, if possible write a book inspired by experience Grunewald.

Professor Wapnewski hopes that Israeli composer Josef Tal will comp an opera that might be premiered Berlin.

Poland's Stanislaw Lem, one of world's foremost writers of science tion, is expected to come up with a novel.

The Grunewald villa is eventu also to house a liberary consisting rely of the works of the people were its guests.

The is, however, one thing that Professor Wapnewski's pleasure in project: all GDR people who were ted have turned down the invitation.

Felix-Erik La

(Welt am Sonntag, 21 November

MODERN LIVING

Warning shots at drugs that don't mix with alcohol — or driving

he health authorities intend to force drug manufacturers to print warn- on products that can affect a per- reactions.

lks are taking place aimed at iron- ut the complex problems involved.

erybody know that drinking and ng don't mix, but most are unaware road-safety dangers of drugs.

eping pills, especially if taken ly after alcohol, can slow down ons even the next morning. So can o-called beta-blockers that are fre- ly prescribed for high blood pres-

recent ADAC (German Automobi- ub) symposium on traffic medicine ster showed how difficult it is to how much effect drugs have on accidents.

ny questions are unanswered: drugs are usually taken by moto- What is the period of their effecti- s? How do they influence reac- And what are their interactions other drugs or substances?

earch results show that the whole field of pharmaceuticals and road ic will have to receive more atten-

far back as 1960 a study by the In- e for Forensic Medicine in Hom- showed that ten per cent to moto- who had caused an accident were the influence of one kind of aceutical or another. This figure to 21 per cent by 1976 and is likely considerably higher today, Profes- H.P. Willumeit told the meeting.

ch studies say little about the role harmaceuticals in causing an acci- but they demonstrate the need for rough analysis of the interplay bet- road safety and drugs.

omen are 2.5 times more often un- he influence of drugs than men. es also show that older drivers are likely to be using medication than ger.

mong the drugs that can impair a r's ability to react are sleeping tranquillisers, pain killers, cardio- lar medication and a wide range ti-flu pills. They include prepara- taken against hay fever, seasick- muscle cramp, etc.

t is is impossible to come up with a al assessment of the influence of because reactions to them vary person to person.

's general knowledge that alcohol change the effects of drugs. It can effect the interplay of different ty- of drugs that are taken simulta- ly or consecutively.

algesics that contain caffeine and urates are particularly dangerous, ssor H. Kurz told the symposium.

e caffeine in these pills is meant to the sluggishness caused by the iturates. But this compensating ef- usually applies only in the first to four hours. afterwards, the sti- ting effect of the caffeine dimini- while the barbiturates remain acti- aking the driver tired.

ere are certain aspects that must e overlooked in assessing the role ugs in road accidents: in many ca- drivers would not be fit to take to road without treatment with medi- n.

ofessor M. R. Möller told the



Münster meeting that it is nearly impossible for the police to find out whether or not a driver is under the influence of drugs. This can only be established by specially trained police officers. But the usual practice at the scene of an accident is not even to ask the driver whether he has taken drugs.

This question is only asked if there is a strong suspicion of drunken driving. In such cases it is customary to take a blood test, which can also provide clues on medication.

The Forensic Medicine Institute analysed some 4,000 blood samples from September 1978 to August 1979: 537 of the specimens, which were picked at random, were also examined for medication: 18.2 per cent showed that the driver had taken drugs before the accident.

This prompted Professor Möller to conclude that drugs play as important a role as alcohol in road accidents. These findings coincide with tests made in the USA, Norway, Canada and Sweden.

The institute's analyses also showed that 19 out of 25 drivers whom the police regarded as unfit to drive had consumed virtually no alcohol at all but had taken medication. Drugs were involved in once out of four accidents in which the driver's blood alcohol level was less than 0.08 per cent.

Professor Möller also pointed to the discrepancy between the statements made by the driver and the results of the blood tests. It turned out that drivers frequently omit to tell the investigating police officers that they had taken tranquillisers or sleeping pills. Most of them only admit to taking a mild pain killer — which cannot be checked.

What possibilities are there of assessing the effects of drugs on a driver's reactions? The answer only seems simple.

Tests with a real vehicle in real road traffic are out of the question because they would not only endanger other motorists but the driver would be subject to all sorts of uncontrollable influences, making it nearly impossible to interpret the information obtained.

As a result, the only approach in assessing the influence of pharmaceuticals on driving is to do it under laboratory conditions. Even normal simulators of road conditions are unsuitable due to the many imponderable elements.

The Institute for Vehicular Technology of Berlin's Technical University has now developed a simulator that has none of these drawbacks. The new simulator permits the recording of a wide range of outside influences (such as distraction by acoustical or visual sensations, alcohol and medication) on the driver's reactions.

Tests made with the new simulator show that a blood alcohol level of 0.08 per cent reduces the driving ability by up to 40 per cent.

Similar tests to ascertain the influence of pharmaceuticals showed that, 12 hours after taking it, the sleeping pill Noctamid improves the driving ability by 2.6 per cent (tested against a control group who were given placebos) while another sleeping pill reduced the driving ability.

The tests also showed that combinations of alcohol and these drugs impaired the driving ability much more than either taken by itself.

The series of tests with the new simulator will probably provide added information on the effects of certain drugs on driving.

Meanwhile, it will be up to the driver himself to decide whether, having taken a drug, he is fit to drive or not. His doctor or chemist can advise him; but they cannot relieve him of the ultimate decision.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 November 1982)

Dyslexia one result as stress in schools increases

Stress at school is a vicious circle that begins as early as kindergarten, delegates to a seminar were told.

Professor J. Meinhardt, of Fulda, said the high school graduation certificate was "wrecking our children."

School demanded far more than a 40-hour week from children. Stress was caused by such things as great distances between school and home; selfish, specialised interests entering the curricula; and rigid teaching methods.

Dyslexia was largely due to stress at school and the best remedy for it was a patient teacher.

Professor Meinhardt was speaking to a seminar held in conjunction with a trade fair for medical supplies in Düsseldorf. Both doctors and education experts were among the delegates.

One of the symptoms of this stress is excessive fear. In one Berlin class, most 13-year-olds admitted to a fear of being alone.

The Berlin doctor and educationalist K. Thomas said that after 40 years in practice he knew no better remedy for the children's fears than autogenous training. He said that, unlike adults, 98 per cent of children had no problems learning the method.

He as conducted autogenous training programmes at several Berlin school during the past years and is satisfied with the results.

The training programme was prompted by children who had anonymously expressed their fears in writing. One 7-year-old even went so far as to write: "I wish the plane that is to take us to Frankfurt would crash."

Dr Thomas suggested that teachers attend the autogenous training courses provided by Cologne University.

Professor Meinhardt stressed that the school can be a source of health as well. A mathematical problem that a student solved after much sweating over it could be a very positive and enriching experience.

Generally, he contended that children attributed too much importance to school and thus exposed themselves to stress.

"Schools without marks are as sickening as those with marks," he said, "because they, too, must orientate themselves by government approved standards."

Parallel to the school problem, another seminar dealt with the sexual difficulties of juveniles.

The enlightenment and liberalism of the past few years, some of the lecturers maintained, have in no way reduced the problem. On the contrary.

"It's surprising how many young people have to consult their doctors about sexual problem," said Professor Molinski, Düsseldorf.

The sexuality of adolescents, he said, has too long been viewed in isolation. As a result, we now frequently regard purely problems of living as sexual difficulties.

Another topic was the sexual probems of old people. Doctors stressed that many of the problems of old people stem from prejudices by the individual.

While 50 per cent of men over 78 are still open-minded towards the other sex, this does not apply to women over 60.

Dr Barbara Perez-Gay, of Cologne, said that it was time to grant women a right to a "second flowering" — something men take for granted and something women deny even to themselves.

Gisela Arndt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 November 1982)



The Windeby Girl: reconstruction in the Schloss Gottorf Museum, Schleswig, showing how she was found in Windeby Moor.

■ THE HUMAN RACE

2,000-year-old moors people give up their bodies but not their secrets

Scientists are still trying to solve the mystery surrounding the 2,000-year-old corpses that are periodically dug up in northern Europe.

The first analyses were made in the middle of the last century and about 700 are known to have been found. The "moors corpses" have been preserved because of the acidity of the moors.

Were they criminals or tribal chiefs, soldiers killed in battle or people who died from illness? When did they die and what sort of lives did they lead? How did they dress, what did they eat and why were they buried in the moors?

Though many have been found in many parts of northern Europe, most were discovered in Denmark and northern Germany, usually by peat diggers.

Archaeologists have answered some of the questions and the other mysteries are in the process of being unravelled.

The dating was done by the carbon-14 method which is based on the fact that a small part of the carbon found in organic matter is radioactive, i. e. C-14. This isotope disintegrates and the older a find the smaller its C-14 content.

The ratio between regular and radioactive carbon tells the physicist the age of an object — sometimes accurate to within 20 years.

According to the carbon dating, the moor corpses all stem from between 400BC and 400AD.

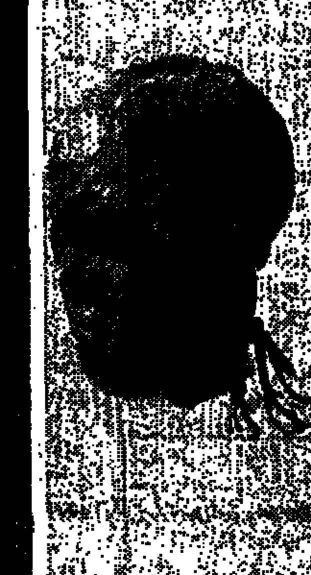
Having dated the finds, archaeologists were able to refer to the literature of the era and compare them with other finds of that time.

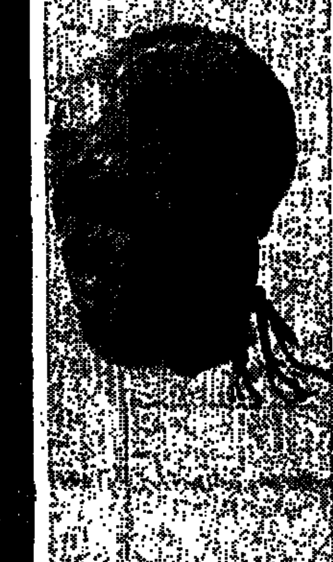
Among the literature there are above all the descriptions of our forebears provided by Cornelius Tacitus (55-120AD) in his book *Germania*.

Other descriptions stem from Julius Caesar (100-44BC). Caesar described the lives of individual Germanic tribes in his book *De bello Gallico* (On the Gallic War).

In the 12th chapter of his *Germania*, Tacitus describes the various punishments for crimes: "The punishment is made to fit the crime: Traitors and deserters are hanged from a tree; cowards and those who shirk military service along with those who commit crimes of immorality are sunk in the moors and the place covered with broken branches. "The various degrees of the death penalty are based on the idea that the punishment for common crimes must be performed visible to all while dishonourable deeds must be punished under a cloak of silence." The question now is: Are the moor corpses the remains of executed criminals? Experts in forensic medicine have never been able to answer this question though many of the finds show wounds and some of the heads have clearly been bashed in. In some instances the head was severed from the torso and put between the legs. Remnants of rope that were found could indicate execution by hanging.







The Windeby Girl, as she was found and as she has been reconstructed, blond-haired and symmetrical face.

(Photos: Schloss Gottorf)

Some of the wounds could, of course, have been inflicted in battle. But analyses of the contents of the stomach and intestines indicate that at least some of the dead people might have been criminals.

Their last meal — between 20 and 24 hours before death — consisted of a blend of finely chopped plants and parts of various fruits and seeds that contained not only thistles but the full range of local weeds.

The scientists concocted a brew that corresponded to the last meal and found it to be a frightfully repulsive and bitter mixture that was probably given to the criminal as a foretaste of the punishment to come.

The analyses of the stomach contents also enabled the scientists to determine the season in which death occurred. The fact that many of the bodies contained no traces of summer or autumn fruits such as strawberries, apples or raspberries and no trace of green plants indicated that death occurred in the winter or just before spring.

That was the time of year when festivities climaxed in human sacrifices, and many of the "sleepers in the moor" could have been the victims.

Some light has also been shed on the social position of some of the dead.

Roman writers have described the hairdo of the free Suebi (a germanic tribe) as opposed to their slaves.

The freemen and nobles wore their hair in a characteristic knot on the right side of the head.

In fact, sculptures of Teutons clearly show this conspicuous Suebi knot.

Some of the corpses have exactly this hairdo and the rich objects that accompanied the body substantiate the view that at least some of the dead must have been nobles.

One of the most mysterious of these finds was made in 1952 in the Windeby Moor near Eckernförde. This find, along with others, is on show at the Schloss Gottorf Museum in Schleswig.

Forensic medicine experts say that the body is that of a 14-year-old girl, and the analysis of pollen found in the grave indicates that she lived in the 1st century AD.

Among the unusual features of the Windeby girl are the facts that she was blindfolded and that her hair had been trimmed to different lengths on each side of her head. On the left, the hair was only about 2mm long while on the right it measured 4cm.

A male body was found only a couple of metres from her's. The young man had a hazelnut twig twisted around his neck.

Were the two punished as adulterers in the manner described by Tacitus? According to him, adulterous women had their hair shorn on one side while men were garrotted. Both were sunk in the moor.

This was the initial interpretatior the case of the Windeby girl. Archa logists assumed that the girl had b drowned in the moor and perhaps e stoned. In any event, she was weigh down with stones.

The case was resurrected a few ye ago by Dr Michael Gebühr, a Kiel U versity scientist, who arrived at differ conclusions.

For one thing, he found it unus that the grave had been lined with h thor. It is unlikely, he argued, t anybody would have taken such trou with a criminal.

Moreover, the stones that were fou were too small to be used to weigh girl down, and X-rays of the bones in cated no injury through stoning anything else.

But the growth lines of the bo showed some characteristic departu from the norm. Every spring, the had almost died of starvation. And same bone symptoms applied to spring in which she died.

Weakened by hunger as she w even a minor infection could have be fatal.

Since other corpses dating back that time were not marked by the sa growth deficiencies as a result of fa ne, Dr Gebühr concluded that the belonged to a low social class and t was the reason why she did not h enough to eat.

The unequal length of the hair al does not necessarily indicate puni ment. Many primitive peoples of time believed that sickness and the mons that caused it lived in the hair. a result, it is quite possible that cropping of her hair was an attemp curing her and that this was repeated the other side when the first crop showed no effect.

The blindfold could also be due old superstition and meant as a pro tion against her return to the living.

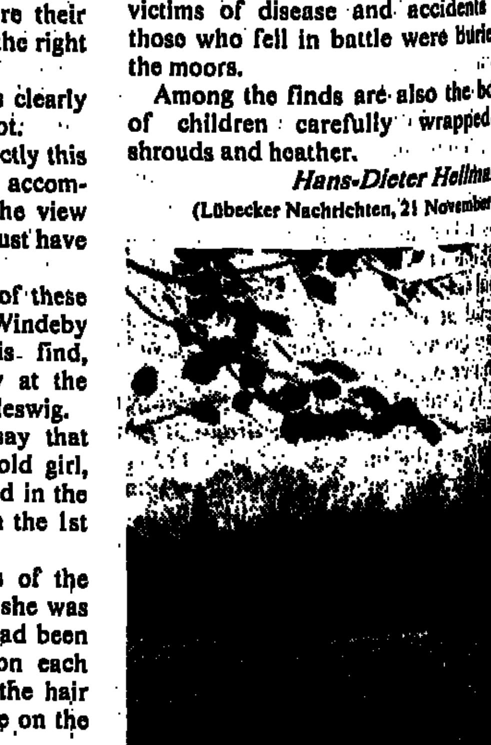
The man who was found ne could be unconnected with the Peat samplings taken from the two ves indicate that they were dug in di rent years.

All this had led researchers to con de that not only criminals but also victims of disease and accidents those who fell in battle were buried the moors.

Among the finds are also the bo of children carefully wrapped shrouds and heather.

Hans-Dieter Hellman

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 21 November



Several corpses have been foun this northern German moor.

(Photos: Alice Kranz-P

FLASHBACK

Legacy of bitterness, nightmares for the hostages of Mogadishu

years ago, a special commando unit ted a hijacked Lufthansa Boeing n the tarmac at Mogadishu, in the l Republic. Three of the Palestinijackers were shot dead and a wounded. The 87 passengers and were freed without serious injury. aptain of the aircraft had been killer when the aircraft was in Aden. rcraft had been flying from Major- Frankfurt when the hijackers their aim was to obtain the release Baader-Meinhof terrorists in jail in ny. What effect did all this have he hostages? Jutta Duhm-Heitz- writing in *Die Zeit*, reports on he found: psychological disturban- d a bitterness that the government should have done more to help adjust back into a society which re finding difficulty in handling.

When the hijacking took place, there was only one question in inds of Germans in the Federal blic: should the hostages be exed for the terrorists, or should a tand be taken?

country was still shaken by the tion of Hans Martin Schleyer, of West Germany's employers' astion (he was later found to have killed) and there were fears of terrorist attacks.

re were five longs days of waiting. came sudden jubilation. A special error squad stormed the Lufthansa nd freed the hostages. Three of the ists were shot dead and the fourth ded.

country had not allowed itself to lackmailed and the victims were They arrived back at Frankfurt airdirty, sweaty, stinking, shattered — lieved.

e had injuries and some were All of them heard a government ter say the nation was proud of They would receive "speedy and eaucratic" assistance.

at happened was: the aircraft's nd the members of GSG9 receiwards. They were the heros. The lian hostages got nothing.

y were sent home after the recep- thrown to the journalists and, as radio reporter Ebbo Demant la- it, "sucked out and used."

ybody felt a kind of vague com- n for them then, compassion plus y. But no one had the imagina- realise what those five days had and what they would mean.

they all say: "It's something explain, someone who wasn't uld not understand it."

et they still try to describe the ing feeling of panic after they kidnapped.

escribe how they tried to fight obeying the instructions given kidnappers.

in the air, until the blood ing, no movement, no talking, to the toilet, for hours on end. fts and touch-downs into the the faulty plane, the hunger, and the heat of the African with the temperature inside the soaring to 60 deg. C.

y describe how the toilets were blocked, how they felt choked at the stench, how their legs began to swell because of sitting so long. Some fainted, others had hallucinations and began to crack up.

But this was nothing, they say, compared with the fear. The fear was heightened when the leader of the terrorists began screaming and having a fit, threatening to shoot the passengers or maltreat them.

The terrorists placed explosives, tied up the passengers and poured alcohol over some of them so that they would burn better.

"This fear of death" says Matthias Rath, now 64, "increased at the start, when the psychological terror began. The feeling of fear then became a feeling of icy coldness inside, the certainty of death."

Then there was the feeling of infinite forlornness, "forgotten by the rest of the world" (in the words of stewardess Hannelore Piegler).

No reaction from Bonn, no news, no consolation, and gradually no more hope of being exchanged.

The 87 felt like victims of an abstract principle: "Country? *Vaterland?* I would never be willing to die for it" (teacher Hartwig Faby)

"We only wanted one thing, to live, to survive" (Hannelore Piegler).

The euphoria of the rescue, the "cloud with a silver lining" (stewardess Gaby Dillmann) on which they all suddenly floated, overlapped all other feelings during the first few hours.

But it didn't take long long before they realised that they had taken Mogadishu back home with them to their accustomed surroundings, their old jobs, their families and colleagues.

Rhett Waida, a man in his late 30s, was one of the hostages. When he got back home after his release he went into town and "just drove around as if I was urged on by something. It was like seeing everything for the first time."

He is angry that the government has not done more to help. He appeared cool and composed as we spoke, but the facade eventually crumbled, and the memories started to boil.

The bitterness emerged, just as it did with the other hostages.

They all felt a shift in their normal values: "Suddenly, I couldn't relate to money. What does an overdrawn account mean when you're dead?" (Beate Zerbst). They could no longer cope with the competitive society. Matthias Rath, director of a factory employing a thousand workers, lost his job because of his problems: "I couldn't carry out negotiations any more. The whole thing made me feel aggressive." At night, there were the nightmares, dreams of being shot, being locked up, of vague threats of death. During the daytime, many were plagued by the feeling of being followed. They were often impelled to turn around and look.



Back from the horror, but there's more to come.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

"If I saw someone with dark skin and curly hair I felt panic-stricken" (Hannelore Piegler).

They could no longer stand confined spaces, avoided lifts, were frightened of situations they couldn't master, even frightened of the dark. And almost all could not bring themselves to board a plane.

They would have liked to talk about Mogadishu, for weeks on end, again and again. The many interviews with journalists almost came as a welcome relief. Friends were too discreet ("They didn't want to impose" says Hartwig Faby) or they had heard enough of the affair:

"What is it you're all after then? You got enough compensation for the whole thing, didn't you?"

Compensation? Lufthansa brought the luggage back, replaced anything that was lost.

The hostages, however, had to find out themselves about health insurance, professional trade associations, possible therapy, forms and official applications.

The offices responsible filed a record on each individual passenger, just as is laid down by the "Law for the Compensation of Victims of Violent Acts". At some stage the questionnaire arrived:

"Are you related in any way to the person who committed the crime?" or:

"Why were you at the scene of the cime at the time?"

There was no money. After two years their claim expired.

What about the broken marriages? The fear of going to work? The isolation from other people? The outbreaks of hate?

Today, five years later, many still take pills. Beate Zerbst, who used to be a sturdy kind of person, won't go anywhere near a plane.

Matthias Rath still only sleeps during the day or if the light is on. He is still fighting his third court case for an early pension entitlement and the recognition of his invalidity.

According to the pychotherapist Andreas Ploeger, "all this psychological damage could have been treated". One year after the whole affair the professor from Aachen sent a questionnaire to the hostages; 53 filled it in and sent it back.

"A third of them were in need of urgent treatment" says Ploeger.

However, only 16 came along. Those who did are grateful.

One couple, who were in the aircraft together and who had been ruining their lives by blaming each other for what had happened, learnt to understand each other's "failure".

In simulated situation others managed to overcome their fear of flying, their claustrophobia, their fear of dark figures, their hate of "those up there in Bonn".

But this was only to last for a while. For after two group sessions the therapist could not come to an agreement with the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Services on his fee. The treatment had to be dropped.

Of course, many of the symptoms have died down — but not in all cases.

"For five days I was scared to death" says Hannelore Piegler, who like her colleague Gaby Dillmann gave up flying. "And I shall never lose the fear of that feeling."

Jutta Duhm-Heitzmann

(Die Zeit, 5 November 1982)

No miracles in Madrid

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them because science is not free of political influence in the East.

So neither miracles nor even modest progress could be expected of the second Helsinki review conference, convened in Madrid two years ago.

Expectations were so limited that many diplomats were pleasantly surprised the Madrid conference was held at all. Agreement on a final document grows increasingly difficult.

When the conference is over, many hopes will remain unfulfilled. Too little will have been accomplished.

Yet despite the many disappointments it must be noted that hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans and over 50,000 Jews would still be living in the East bloc if the Helsinki accords had never been signed.

The final document has been useful in that the Soviet Union and its allies did not want to arrive at the review conferences entirely empty-handed.

When one party to a discussion runs out of arguments he may be tempted to hang up. That will be the end of the matter for some time, and both sides will be the losers.

In Madrid both sides still have the phone in their hands and are keen to avoid hanging up, but that is of course much too little.

Yet it is still a hopeful sign in an age in which so many hopes have been dashed.

Siegfried Löffler

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